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THE NEWGATE OF CONNECTICUT

THE OLD SIMSBURY COPPER MINES

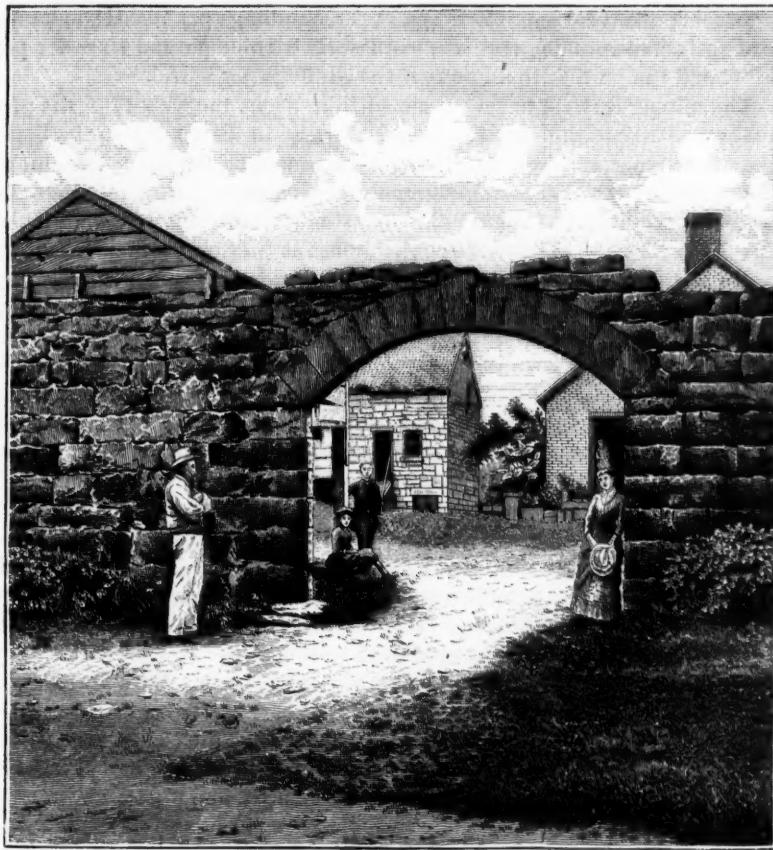
A CONSIDERABLE portion of the early settlers of this country were drawn hither in the expectation of finding it another Mexico in its yield of the precious metals. The discovery of these, however, was to be preceded by that of the more useful minerals. About the year 1700 a deposit of copper ore was discovered in Connecticut, at a place nearly eighteen miles north-west of Hartford, in what was then the town of Simsbury, but which now forms a part of East Granby. Mining operations were soon commenced, and in 1707 a working company was formally organized under a charter, said to have been the first granted for mining purposes in our country.

The site of the mine is upon the west flank of the high Trap Range which stretches from Holyoke, in Massachusetts, to its terminus at East Rock, in New Haven, and has long been known familiarly as Copper Hill. The neighboring region is very picturesque, and the old mine is a place of resort both on this account and for its historical interest. The mining company, as such, undertook only to secure the crude ore, most of which was shipped to England, though a small portion was smelted here under contract with a separate company. It is a significant evidence of the general lack of scientific knowledge in our country at that time, as well as of the limited development of the arts, that the persons with whom this contract was made were all clergymen. It shows also the great regard in which learning was held in the New England of those days that the contract with the smelting company required it to reserve one-tenth of its product for the town, of which two-thirds was to be given for the maintenance of "an able schoolmaster in Simsbury," and the other third to the "Collegiate School," by which name Yale College was then known.

As early as the year 1709, on the ground of its being a "public benefit," the General Court of the colony passed an act for the encouragement of the copper mines at Simsbury. Under this and some supplementary acts the business was carried on for about sixty years. Leases of different por-

tions of their mineral land were made from time to time by the company, and among the lessees were some of the wealthiest capitalists and most noted men of the country. The names of Winthrop, Cradock, Bowdoin, Winslow, Quincy, and Pemberton, of Boston, Brenton of Rhode Island, Crommelin and others of New York, attest the wide-spread interest in the mines on Copper Hill. A company was formed in London also, and another in Holland, for the purpose of carrying on mining operations here, and in 1723 it was stated that "the copper works had brought into the Plantation from foreign countries about ten thousand pounds." Jonathan Belcher, afterwards Colonial Governor of Massachusetts, was interested in the mines, and reports a disbursement by him in the course of twenty-three years, of more than £15,000. The success of the Simsbury mines led to much exploration in other places for indications of mineral wealth, especially along the same mountain range, and as far south as New Haven. But nowhere, except at Bristol, midway between Hartford and New Haven, was a deposit found which warranted the labor and expense requisite for successful operations. While the ore was mined at several points on Copper Hill, the principal operations were at a place which afterward became celebrated on account of the use of the vacated mines for more than half a century as a State prison, which bore the name "Newgate," from the well-known English prison. Here two shafts were sunk in the rock, one forty, the other about seventy feet in depth. At the bottom of these galleries extensive excavations were made. They followed the dip of the ore veins, which was usually at an angle of about twenty-five degrees, the veins varying in thickness from eight feet to a mere thread. Its present appearance is that of a series of low rooms or caverns of various shapes, branching off from one another in every direction; but many of the caverns are now inaccessible on account of the influx of water, which is no longer removed as it was when mining operations were in progress. The business was nearly abandoned about the time of the beginning of our Revolutionary war, and the mining companies were one after another disbanded.

It is an interesting fact, in connection with the mines at Copper Hill, that here the first coinage of money in this country took place. It was the private enterprise of one Samuel Higley, an ingenious and skillful blacksmith, who had a mine about a mile south of the principal one. The colonies then had no metallic coinage of their own. The first issue by them of paper money dates only from the year in which the act was passed for the encouragement of the Simsbury mines. What little metallic money was then in circulation was chiefly British coin. Specie, at the best, was



ENTRANCE TO PRISON GROUNDS, THROUGH ARCHWAY IN EASTERN WALL.

[From a recent photograph.]

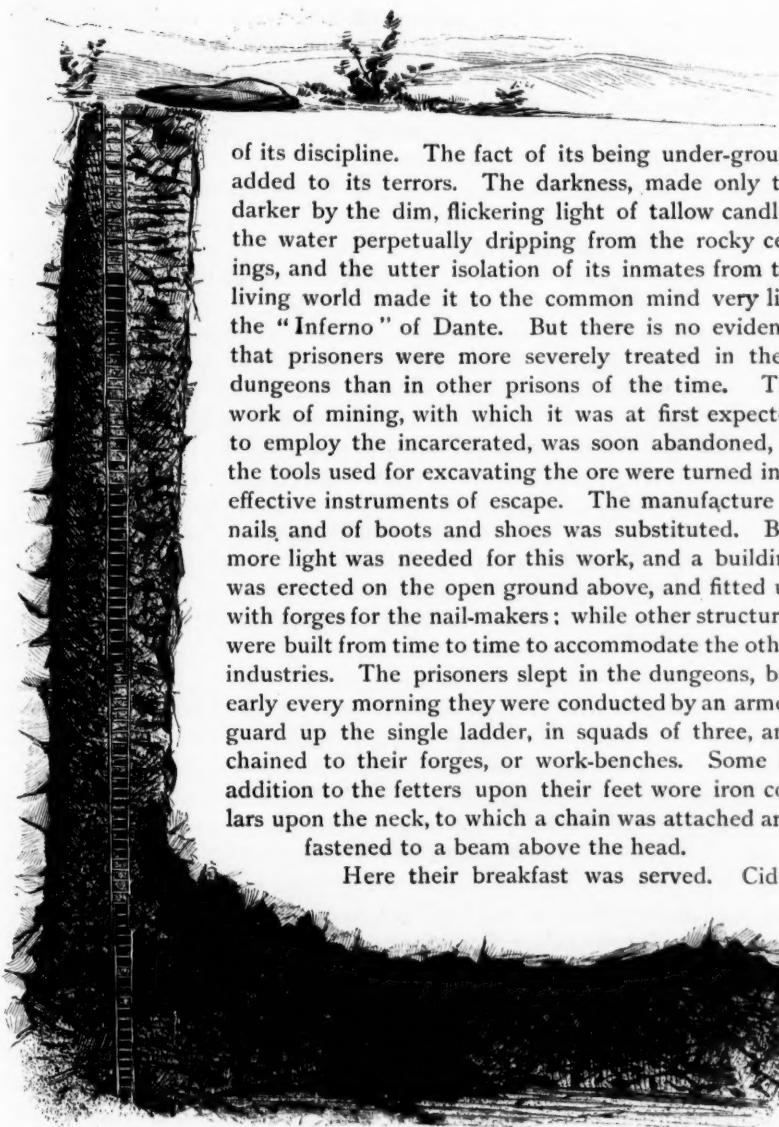
very scarce. Prior to 1709 "Provision Pay," as it was called, was the common medium of exchange. Rye, corn, oats, pork, etc., passed at so much a bushel or pound in payment of debts or for the purchase of whatever one needed. Salaries of clergymen and others were paid in this way. At the settlement of a pastor in this very town of Simsbury, in the year 1688, the agreement was that he should have a salary of fifty pounds a year "in good current pay, to wit: one-third in good merchantable wheat at four shillings

per bushel; one-third in pease or rye, at three shillings per bushel; and one-third in Indian corn or pork; the corn at two shillings and sixpence per bushel and the pork at three pounds ten shillings per barrel."

The mining interest having declined from about the year 1750, the proposal was made to convert the principal mine at Simsbury into a State prison for criminals, whose labor might be turned to profitable account in mining. In 1773 the General Assembly of Connecticut appointed a commission, consisting of William Pitkin, Erastus Wolcott, and Jonathan Humphrey, "to view and explore the copper mines at Simsbury—their situation, nature and circumstances, and to examine and consider whether they may be beneficially applied to the purpose of confining, securing and profitably employing such criminals and delinquents as may be committed to them by any future law or laws of this colony, in lieu of the infamous punishments in divers cases now appointed, and at what probable expense the said mines may be obtained for the purpose aforesaid," and to report to the Assembly then in session. They reported that the unexpired lease, having twenty years to run, could be purchased for about sixty pounds, and that by the expenditure of less than forty additional pounds, the caverns could be made so secure that it would be, to use the language of the Commissioners, "next to impossible for any person to escape." The gentlemen of the Commission were accordingly invested with full powers to lease the mine and fit it up for a State prison.

The Committee reported at the next session of the Assembly that they had purchased the lease and blasted out in the rock a suitable lodging-room, about fifteen feet by twelve in size, and had fixed over the west shaft a large iron door, the total expense of fitting the mine for its new use being only three hundred and seventy dollars. It shows the comparatively slow growth of the country during the first century and a half, not only in population but in other respects, and not least in the ideas relative to penal treatment, that by such a small expenditure in such a place, it was then deemed possible to establish a prison fit for State purposes. At the same session of the Legislature an act was passed "constituting the subterranean caverns and buildings, in the copper mines at Simsbury, a public gaol and workhouse for the use of the colony." There was then nothing above ground, not so much even as the enclosure of a fence, to mark the site of the State's prison. It was simply an underground cavern or series of caverns, connected with the open world through a couple of shafts, in one of which was a perpendicular ladder.

For half a century this "Connecticut Newgate," was associated with much that was distressing in the extreme, and culprits had a salutary fear



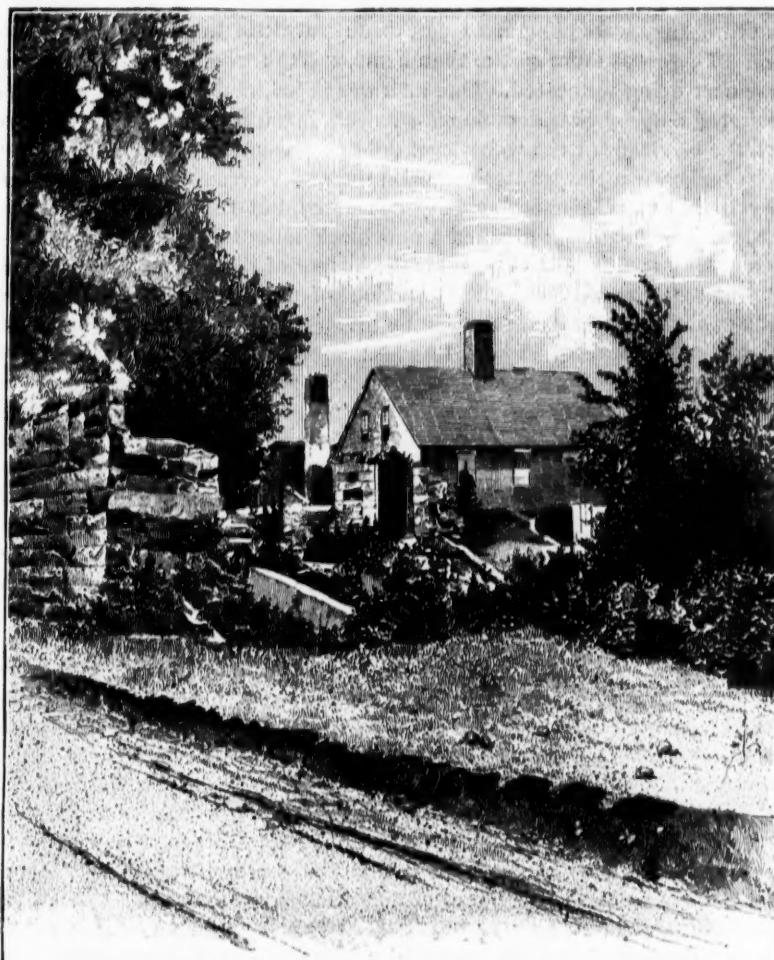
of its discipline. The fact of its being under-ground added to its terrors. The darkness, made only the darker by the dim, flickering light of tallow candles, the water perpetually dripping from the rocky ceilings, and the utter isolation of its inmates from the living world made it to the common mind very like the "Inferno" of Dante. But there is no evidence that prisoners were more severely treated in these dungeons than in other prisons of the time. The work of mining, with which it was at first expected to employ the incarcerated, was soon abandoned, as the tools used for excavating the ore were turned into effective instruments of escape. The manufacture of nails and of boots and shoes was substituted. But more light was needed for this work, and a building was erected on the open ground above, and fitted up with forges for the nail-makers; while other structures were built from time to time to accommodate the other industries. The prisoners slept in the dungeons, but early every morning they were conducted by an armed guard up the single ladder, in squads of three, and chained to their forges, or work-benches. Some in addition to the fetters upon their feet wore iron collars upon the neck, to which a chain was attached and fastened to a beam above the head.

Here their breakfast was served. Cider

ENTRANCE TO THE UNDER-GROUND PRISON. THE PERPENDICULAR LADDER.

was provided as a part of the ration, each man having a pint daily. By bartering pork or potatoes for cider, some would get enough of the liquid to become intoxicated, and for the time incapacitated for work. After the hours of labor, the prisoners were allowed to work for themselves, and in this way they often earned considerable sums of money which they were permitted to expend at the neighboring store. The result was, not unfrequently, the importation into the prison of something stronger even than cider.

With such a commingling of exasperating severity and easy indulgence, it is not surprising that the prison abounded in scenes of turbulence compelling harsh and summary measures on the part of guards and keepers. A gentleman now living, who in early life was one of the guards, says that there were insurrections on foot all the while. One can hardly forbear smiling at the frequent escapes which were effected, remembering the Commissioners had so confidently said, "it would be next to impossible for any one to escape." The first convict was received at this stronghold on the 22d of December, 1773, and made his escape on the 9th of the following month. He was drawn up through the eastern shaft, a simple well-hole seventy feet deep, by a woman. Soon after this, a successful attempt was made by the whole body of prisoners. The keeper, Captain John Viets, resided a little distance from the prison, and no guard above ground was kept during the day, two or three sentinels being on the watch at night only. The convicts contrived to unbar a door which led from the inner caverns to a passage connected with the outer door. They then secreted themselves in a recess near the door, where, owing to the general darkness, they could not easily be seen. Here they waited until the keeper came, at the usual time, to bring their food, when, immediately on his opening the door, they sprang upon him, took his keys, locked him in the dungeon, and went out themselves. His family noticing his unusual absence, came to the prison before much time had elapsed and released him. The people living in the vicinity very soon learned of the outbreak and started in pursuit of the fugitives, nearly all of whom were retaken. The attention of the prison Commissioners and of the General Assembly were thus called to the inadequacy of "Newgate" as a place of confinement for criminals, and the deepest shaft was speedily closed by an iron door with heavy blocks of stone, and over the west shaft a strong log-house was built. Scarcely, however, had these precautions been taken, when the keepers were surprised by the discovery of another attempt at escape. From the bottom of the mine a drift had been run for the purpose of draining off the water. This came out to the surface on the western slope



KEEPER'S HOUSE AND ENTRANCE TO THE PRISON. RUINS OF OLD NAIL-SHOP IN THE FOREGROUND.

of the hill, and the opening was barred by a stout wooden door well fastened. The prisoners undertook to burn this door, collecting various combustible materials and piling them against it, and then with flint and steel lighted their fire. But the result was different from what they expected. The fire, in the close and dripping cavern and with the damp

materials they were obliged to use, made but little impression upon the door. There was more smoke than flame, and the whole body of prisoners came near being suffocated. One man was killed, and five others were resuscitated only by considerable effort. But ill-success in this endeavor to burn the barricade of the water-level did not discourage the convicts. Ere long they made a similar attempt upon the newly-erected block-house over the west shaft. This was actually consumed, but the prisoners did not escape. The Assembly directed a new block-house to be built and in connection with it a dwelling-house for the keeper of the prison. A year had not elapsed, however, after the erection of these buildings, before the block-house was again swept away by fire. It was built a third time, and a third time destroyed. These frequent conflagrations and escapes were so discouraging that for several years nothing seems to have been done to repair the buildings, and the prisoners were removed to the county jail at Hartford for safe-keeping. But at the session of 1779 the Assembly made one more effort to render the much vaunted stronghold worthy of its name. The overseers were ordered to erect new buildings, with "a block-house on the surface of the ground over the mouth of the cavern, suitable and convenient to secure and employ the prisoners in labor in the day time." The new buildings were completed in 1780, and with their occupancy the character and management of the prison were changed.

In place of the single keeper by day and two or three ordinary watchmen by night, the prison was placed under a strictly military guard, consisting of a lieutenant, sergeant, and twenty-four privates. At the same time the prison was surrounded with a substantial fence, and bastions were erected at the corners for additional security. The prisoners worked above ground and only went into the caverns to sleep, or after work was finished. But they slept and worked alike under the eye of the soldier and within easy range of the loaded musket. The Tories of the Revolution were confined here in great numbers. At one time the larger portion of the inmates were Tories, some of them men of wealth and prominence. Within six months after the new buildings were erected and the military guard established, "Newgate" was the scene of a desperate conflict, attended with blood-shed, and nearly all the twenty-eight prisoners escaped. They were chiefly Tories, and, in accordance with a concerted plan, rose upon the guard and succeeded in accomplishing their design. At ten o'clock in the evening the wife of one of the prisoners applied for permission to visit her husband in the caverns. As this privilege had been many times granted, it was not refused now, though sought at such an unusual hour. All but two of the guard were off duty, and had retired for the night. As the



REMAINS OF WORKSHOP AND BARRACKS. KEEPER'S HOUSE ON THE RIGHT.

hatches were raised for the purpose of allowing the woman to descend the ladder in the shaft, the prisoners, who were on the ladder and near the door, rushed up, seized the muskets of the two officers on duty, and made themselves masters of the guard-room before the sleeping guards were aware of the situation. One officer, by the name of Sheldon, did his duty and fought most valiantly. He was killed, thrust through by a bayonet. Six others were wounded more or less severely. But the prisoners were soon triumphant and succeeded in shutting the guards, except those who had taken flight, into the caverns and making good their own escape. Every prisoner fled, and only a few, such as happened to be wounded in

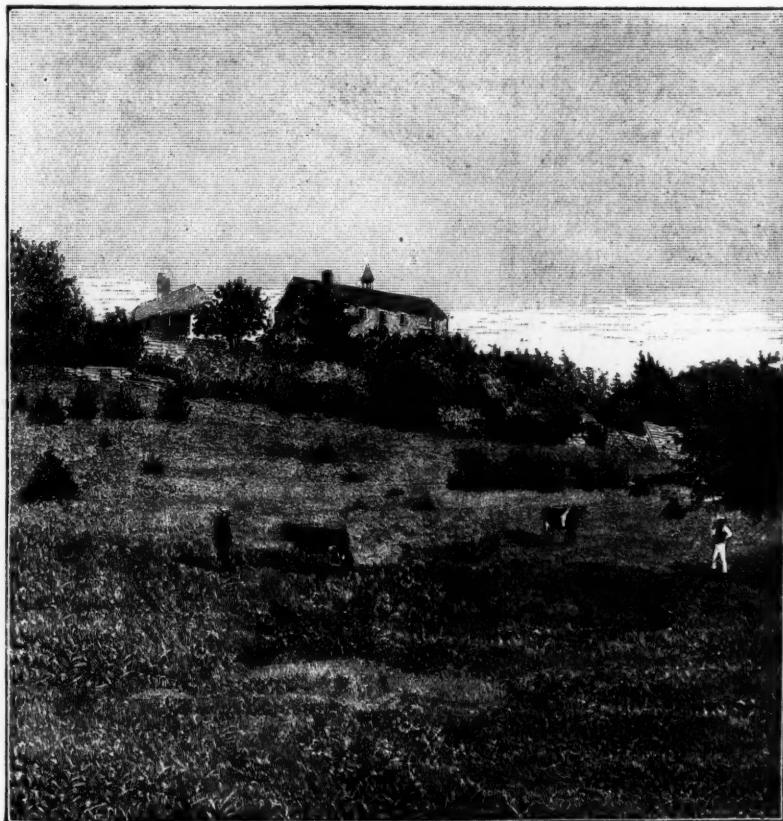
the conflict, were retaken! The outbreak took place on the 18th of May, 1781, and three weeks afterwards Rivington's *Gazette* contained a notice of the arrival in New York of two of the escaped Loyalists,* giving their account of "Newgate" and the manner of their escape. They speak of their "horrid dungeon" and of "hinges grating upon their hooks and opening the jaws and mouth" of what they call "Hell," and of the "bottomless pit," from which, at the hazard of life, they had made their escape. A committee of the General Assembly in session at the time was appointed to visit the prison and make a careful examination. They reported the discipline of the prison defective and the conduct of most of the guard cowardly, one of whom, at least, was bribed and favored the escape of the prisoners: he was afterwards prosecuted and convicted. This official report on a matter of so much gravity partakes not a little of the humorous. It says: "Jacob Southwell was awakened by the tumult, took a gun and run out of the guard-house, and durst not go back for fear they would hurt him. N. B.—A young man *more fit to carry fish to market* than to keep guard at 'Newgate.' Nathan Philips was also asleep, wak'd but could do nothing, the prisoners having possession of the guard-house. (A small lad just fit to drive Plow with a very gentle Team.) He went to Mr. Viets' and stayed till morning (poor boy!)."

In November, 1782, the prison buildings were burnt for the third time, and it is a remarkable fact that during the nine years that the mines had been used for the purpose of imprisonment more than half of those confined there had escaped. In the present instance, as in the last, there was a plan to effect the release of the Tories. During the fire, one Abel Davis, sergeant of the guard, opened the hatches and allowed all the prisoners to escape who wished to do so. A large number improved the opportunity, but most of them were afterwards captured. Davis was convicted of aiding in the escape, and subsequently presented the following petition to the General Assembly, which is worth preserving as a curiosity:

To the Hon. General Assembly:

The humble petition of Able Davis—where as at the honerable Supene Court houlden at Hartford in December last I was conficteid of mis Deminer on the Count of newgate being burnt as I had comand of said gard and was orded to bee confined 3 month and pay fourteen pounds for disabaing orders. I can't read riten, but I did all in my power to Distinguis the flame, but being very much frited and not the faculty to doe as much in distress as I could another time and that is very smaul, what to do I thot it was best to let out the prisoners that was in the botams as I had but just time to get the gates lifted before the

* Ebenezer Hathaway and Thomas Smith. See *Magazine of American History*, Vol. xi., pp. 247, 248, 249.



REAR OF THE OLD PRISON, LOOKING UP THE HILL FROM THE WEST, SHOWING KEEPER'S HOUSE AND THE BARRACKS.

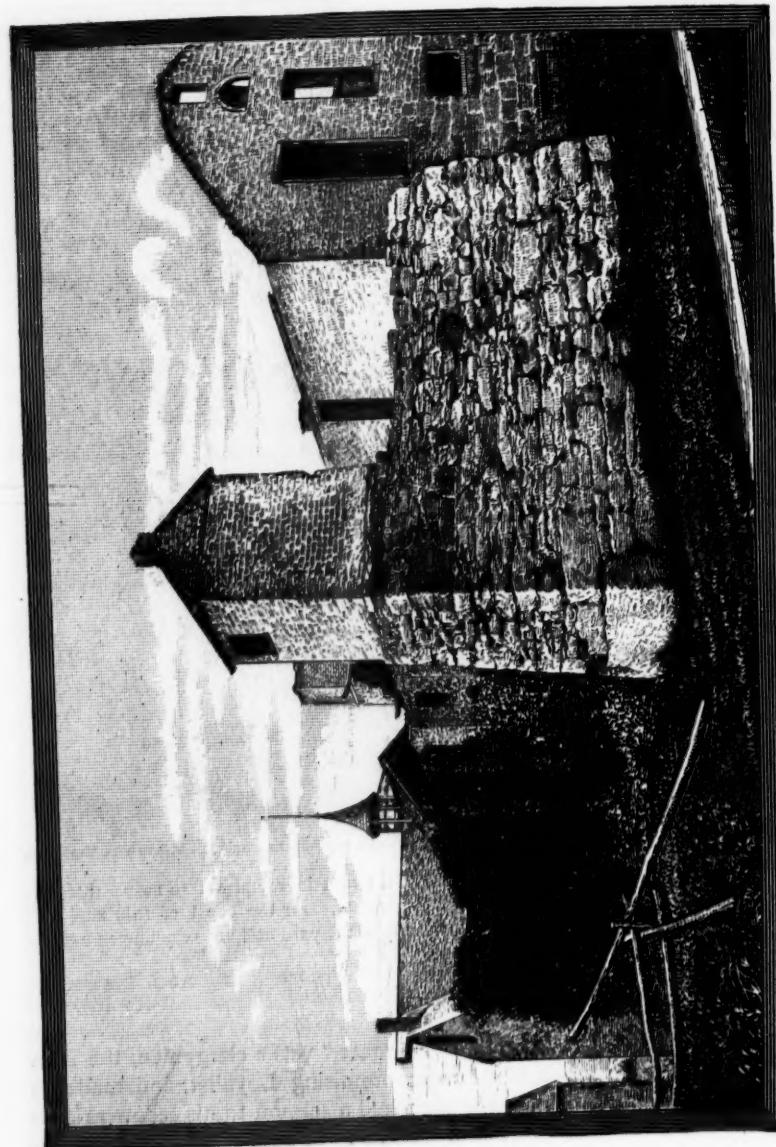
hous was in flames, and the gard being frited it twant in my power to scape them. I now pray to bee Deflehaned from further imprisment, and the coust of said sute as I hante abel to pay the coust, or give me the liberty of the yard as I am very unwell as your petishener in Duty bound will for ever pray.

ABEL DAVEIS.

Hartford Goal, January 14th, 1783.

Among the Tories confined at "Newgate" was a clergyman, the Rev. Simeon Baxter, who was a most uncompromising Loyalist, and made no concealment of his opinions. He preached a sermon to his fellow prisoners, which was afterwards printed in London. It advocated in the strong-

THE NEWGATE OF CONNECTICUT



SENTRY'S TOWER, SOUTH-EAST ANGLE OF PRISON WALL. BARRACKS ON THE LEFT. REMAINS OF CHAPEL AND WORKSHOP ON THE RIGHT.

est manner the assassination of Washington and the whole Continental Congress.

In 1781 Congress applied to Connecticut for the use of "Newgate" for the reception of British prisoners of war, and for "purposes of retaliation." The subject was taken into favorable consideration; but the war was drawing to a close, and after a brief period negotiations ceased. When the wooden palisade was built for the better security of the convicts, it was surmounted with iron spikes, and enclosed the various buildings which had been erected above ground. A deep trench was also dug upon the western side of the inclosure. This remained until the year 1802, when the Commissioners were ordered to replace it with a high stone wall. The wall was quite a massive structure, and still remains in place. The prisoners aided in its construction, and on its completion were allowed to be participants in the festivities with which the completion of the work was celebrated. An Irish prisoner, embracing the temporary liberty and license of the occasion, offered the following toast: "Here is to Lieutenant Barber's great wall. May it be like the wall of Jericho, and tumble down at the sound of a ram's horn." An old negro named Dublin also offered a toast which had more of the Irish than the African flavor. "Here's health to the Captain and all the rest of the prisoners." The keeper or overseer of the prison always bore the title of "Captain," and Lieutenant Calvin Barber was the principal commissioner at the time the wall was built.

"Newgate" continued to be used as a prison until the year 1827, when, a new penitentiary having been built by the State, at Wethersfield, the prisoners at "Newgate" were removed to the new, and the old prison was abandoned. In 1830 the property was sold to a chartered company, by whom mining operations were resumed for a time. Financial embarrassments soon caused the suspension of the work, however. Twenty years elapsed and the miner's tools were again heard in the old caverns, but only for a short period. The discovery of the larger and richer deposits of Lake Superior rendered the working of the Simsbury mines unprofitable. The place is now a picturesque ruin, of great interest on account of its historic associations. The high walls, no longer needed as safeguards against the escape of prisoners, have not been cared for by the later proprietors, and portions of them have tumbled down. The old smithy, where the convicts stood fastened to their forges by chains depending from iron collars about their necks, has become a dilapidated mass, its sides having fallen out, and a portion only of its roof remaining. The floor is heaped with the ore which the more recent miners brought up from the cavernous depths below. The clank of the chains is no longer heard, nor the ring of the

many hammers upon the anvils. The old treadmill is silent. The various shops where work of one sort and another was done, and the chapel where religious services were maintained for the benefit of the convicts, are now empty. Doors and windows, to a great extent, are gone. The stair-cases are broken down, and one makes his way among the apartments with difficulty. The sentry's box still stands high on the parapet, but no sentry's tread is heard, nor is the gleam of his musket seen in the sunshine. Grass and weeds have overgrown the court-yard. One building only has been kept in sufficient repair to be occupied. In this, situated in the center of the inclosure, a family dwell, guarding the premises from ruthless depredation, and furnishing candles and needful guides for those who desire to explore the dungeons below. The bell, which originally came from Rouen, in France, and long summoned the prisoners to their work, to their meals, and to their quarters at night, has been transferred to the roof of a factory a few miles distant.

N. H. Eggleston

AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK

In the death of General Hancock the nation has lost a tried and brilliant soldier and a sterling citizen. Born February 14, 1824, and entering West Point at the age of sixteen, he had been in the service of his country for a quarter of a century at the time of his lamented death, when, although his years were sixty-two, he might have reasonably looked forward to a longer career of usefulness. He graduated with an enviable record in 1844, and was assigned to frontier duty in the Indian Territory, where, in the round of a soldier's routine, the rudiments of his profession were learned. Among the names that appear on the rolls at West Point during Hancock's term, are Grant, McClellan, Rosecrans, Longstreet, Buckner, and Jackson; but no oracle foretold that the time would come when these cadet-comrades were to meet as foes in the shock of civil war. When the Mexican War came on, the rank of Hancock was that of second lieutenant. He participated in the four principal battles of General Scott's campaign —namely, Contreras, Cherubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec— and for gallant and meritorious conduct in the first two, won his brevet as first lieutenant. Grant, two years his senior, was brevetted captain for gallantry at Chapultepec. A season of comparative inactivity followed the close of the war with Mexico until 1855, during which period the frontier at various times was his field of service, when he served under General Harney in Florida, in his operations against the hostile Seminoles, and also accompanied the same officer in his expedition to Utah. The opening of the Civil War found him located at Los Angeles, his official station being that of chief quartermaster of the Southern District of California.

Notable qualities had been displayed by the young officer in the situations to which duty had called him up to this time; and now it was seen that in him were combined the daring spirit of the soldier and the business aptitude and method of the man of affairs. He had the faculty of organization, and a comprehension of details in general, which bore the happy issue of well-ordered dispatch. In the peaceful exercise of these qualities he heard around him the expression of secession sentiments, and realized that an effort would be made to induce California to forsake her allegiance and follow the lead of South Carolina. He belonged to the Democratic party but more than a Democrat he was a patriot; and no sympathy with the secession cause could be wrung from him, nor did the advocates of it ever gain his affiliation. On the contrary, all his influence and power of

persuasion were exerted on the side of the Union, and we may well believe that his loyal action was not unavailing in saving the Golden State.

"Once, to every man and nation, comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side."

He chose the good, and, longing for active service, wrote to that effect, and was ordered to Washington, where his experience and knowledge were of signal service in organizing the Army of the Potomac. From that moment to the close of the rebellion he was identified with nearly every movement of that army. He was commissioned as brigadier-general of volunteers, September 23, 1861, and served under McClellan through the Peninsula campaign, greatly distinguishing himself at the battle of Williamsburg, where his strategy, courage and resource commanded the victory. He was actively present at the battle of Chickahominy and other engagements, to Harrison's Landing; then at South Mountain and Antietam, where his ability was again distinguished. Then came Fredericksburgh and Chancellorsville, where, having been made major-general, he commanded a division, and at the last-named battle won his corps command. In the decisive conflict at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863, he held the left center and bore the brunt of battle, gaining by his valor and intrepidity the thanks of Congress "for his gallant, meritorious and conspicuous share in that great and decisive victory." He was severely wounded at Gettysburg and disabled for many months, though during his sick leave he employed himself in recruiting the Second Army Corps which he commanded later. He took the field again when the campaign opened in 1864, and added to his renown by his prowess in the bloody battles of the Wilderness. He especially distinguished himself at a critical juncture in the desperate struggle of Friday, May 6, when the main weight of the Confederate attack fell upon his lines. "The heroism and skill of Hancock, and the valor of his command saved our army," wrote William Swinton in his account of the battle, dated Sunday, May 8, 1864. He was active at Spottsylvania Court House, North Anna, Cold Harbor, and in the movement against Petersburg, until the coming of summer, when the breaking out of his wound obliged him to take a short rest. Resuming command later, he continued in active service until autumn, when a requisition to organize a corps of veterans called him to Washington. He was placed in command of several successive departments at the end of the war, succeeding General Meade in the department of the East, and at his death was senior major-general with head-quarters at Governor's Island.

Brief as is the foregoing with reference to the military achievements of Hancock, it will at least give an idea of his martial energy, courage and

skill, and his unfaltering spirit in all the emergencies of war. The history of the contest must be read to fully realize and appreciate the importance and splendor of his services.

General Hancock was an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidential nomination in the Democratic Convention of July, 1868, which resulted in a unanimous vote for the late Horatio Seymour. Until that unanimous ballot, however, he was honored with a larger number of votes than any candidate of the Convention with the exception of Pendleton, and his majority was but a single vote. The General again loomed up as a candidate for a Presidential nomination in 1880, and perhaps in the twelve years of non-participation in active politics he had made some study of state-craft, and was not deaf to the whisperings of ambition. There was no reason why he should not walk the same path that many a General had trodden before him. He was a successful soldier; a man of unblemished character; his intellect was cultivated though not brilliant; his deportment was dignified yet winning; and he had a talent for administration in certain directions. He proved a popular candidate. The Democratic Convention in Cincinnati nominated him on the second ballot, though his competitor was no less a statesman than Thomas F. Bayard, and in the ensuing election he received a popular vote of 4,422,033, against Garfield's popular vote of 4,442,950. Without doubt his military reputation was his chief source of strength in the popular view, for he was untried in statesmanship; and that he was unskilled in the art of political management and lacking in political tact, the canvass humorously testified. His personal share therein was not marked by the acumen exhibited by Horace Greeley during his memorable campaign. The General was not apt at speech-making, and was more at home in battle than on the stump. Yet he might have made an excellent and efficient Executive, for his many qualities were genuine and admirable, and experience teaches that great developments of attributes and character may spring to noble life under the pressure of responsibility. It was not impossible that had Hancock been elected his presidential record would have justified the admiration and confidence of his constituency. It was not vouchsafed him, however, to rule the nation, and speculation now as to what might have been his civic success is unprofitable. He has gone to his honored grave with an unclouded name, and the moralist will tell us that it was better so, than that the soldier and patriot should risk the temptations and pitfalls of political preferment.

General Hancock was a fine example of a soldier-citizen. He was far from being

"The red-coat bully in his boots,
That hides the march of men from us."

He was in the march of men himself, and war was not his trade. The armor was donned when needed; it was not worn to intimidate. In the performance of his duties as commander of a department he was painstaking and energetic. His talent for administration was seen in the thoroughness with which all details of his office were mastered and managed. No duty was ever done by him in a perfunctory spirit. He often attended personally to matters that might very properly have devolved on members of his staff; but it was his way to see to things himself. And fresh in the remembrance of the public is the perfect manner in which, when ordered by the President, he conducted from first to last the elaborate arrangements of the obsequies of General Grant.

As a man, he deserved the love and esteem which has been so warmly expressed by his friends and comrades-in-arms. He was endowed with features of character that impressed all who came in contact with him, and that were as noble as his physical presence. He was of a kind and generous disposition, and his gifts of charity have sown in many breasts the seeds of gratitude.

As a soldier of the Republic his fame is flawless and secure. What he might have done under other circumstances or in another sphere of action, it is useless to inquire. Possessing human attributes that largely influence the race, he would have earned a distinction in any department of life. But it seems to us that nature and inclination fitted him for the part he was destined to play, and such was the united testimony of those who gathered around his vacant chair at the meeting of the Military Service Institution on Governor's Island, on the night of February 26. No one who looked on the funeral procession of General Grant last August will soon forget the striking appearance of General Hancock at the head of his glittering staff, leading the impressive pageant. The memory will long hold that picture of military splendor, and he who there rode the conspicuous figure seemed born to it, and was in truth what his superb bearing suggested, and what his admirers called him—an ideal soldier. He was as inspiring as Murat and as brave as Ney; and his deeds of dauntless valor will gild the nation's annals, while by those who knew him he will be remembered as a chivalric gentleman, a genial companion, and loyal friend.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "W. W. Hancock".

THE CONSOLIDATION OF CANADA

When the British North American provinces confederated in 1867 the only thing they seemed to have in common was an attachment to British institutions and British connection, and even that did not unite them very closely, for, wedged in between the British provinces by the sea and the British province on the Great Lakes, was the French Quebec. The central provinces, Ontario and Quebec, then known as Upper and Lower Canada, were connected by the Grand Trunk Railway which at that time had no competitor, but the maritime provinces were separated from the rest of the Dominion by an almost unexplored wilderness. To the north-west of Ontario lay the great lone land called the Hudson Bay Territory, known only to Indians and hunters, and generally supposed to be a land of eternal ice and snow. West of that again, and separated from it by the Rocky Mountains, was the province of British Columbia, with its head in the snow of the mountains and its feet in the warm waters of the Pacific.

The confederation scheme was the outcome of a parliamentary deadlock between the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, which, although geographically as dependent upon one another as Siamese twins, were separated by race hatred and differences of language and religion. It was carried by a narrow majority in most of the provinces. In Nova Scotia the majority of the people were opposed to it, and British Columbia was only induced to join by the promise of a railway through Canadian territory connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Before the American colonies confederated they had fought together and grown enthusiastic in a common cause. There was no war to weld the Canadian provinces together. Linked to Britain but separated from one another they had no community of interest, and nothing had been done to encourage trade between them. The people of Ontario hated the *habitants* of Quebec, and the "Bluenoses" down by the sea disliked all Canadians, whether they lived along the banks of the St. Lawrence and talked a French patois, or on the shores of Ontario and Erie speaking English like themselves.

Naturally, many citizens of the young Dominion had no faith in its future. They predicted all kinds of disasters and declared that the consolidation of Canada could never be anything more than a name. There were others, however, who argued that the natural resources of the Canadian provinces were fully equal to those of the Northern States, that

lying in a direct line between Europe and Asia nearer to both continents than the United States and possessing the finest harbors on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, with immense deposits of coal in close proximity to them, they must, in time, control the commerce of the world, and nothing but a century of disunion prevented them from making equal progress with the United States. They pointed out that ocean vessels from Europe passing up the St. Lawrence to Montreal could go nearer to the heart of the continent than by any United States route, while Louisburg, Canada's most eastern port, with one of the grandest harbors in the world and unlimited deposits of coal close at hand, was 750 nautical miles nearer to England than New York. They showed that a line of railway through Canadian territory connecting Montreal with the Pacific Ocean would be the shortest possible route across the continent of North America, and that Canada was especially favored by the Pacific Ocean, the Japan current carrying all vessels bound from Asia to America toward British Columbia. They declared that the internal water system of the Dominion was far superior to that of the United States, the most important connecting links between the Great Lakes being in Canada, and that by improving these water-ways Canadians could secure a large share of the American export trade. In short, they said that all that was necessary to the making of a mighty nation was a national policy which would develop interprovincial and international trade by constructing railways and canals.

So the people formed themselves into two parties, the Dominionists and Provincialists, the one having unbounded confidence in the future of the enlarged Canada, and holding that where the interests of one of the provinces conflicted in any matter with those of the country at large, the province must give way to the Dominion; the other taking a most gloomy view of the future of the confederation and insisting that the autonomy of the provinces should be restored in part, at least. Most of the Dominionists allied themselves with the Conservatives, while the Provincialists joined the Reformers, and thus, while the names Dominionist and Provincialist have never been used to designate the two parties, the distinguishing characteristic of the one is nationalism and that of the other provincialism. No review of Canadian history since the confederation that ignores this distinction can satisfactorily explain the present situation, and no forecast of the future is reliable unless it takes this into account.

The Dominionists have been in power at Ottawa ever since confederation, with the exception of the five years between 1873 and 1878, and while

all their hopes have not been realized much has been accomplished, and nothing but a one-sided study of events could make any unprejudiced person believe that the Dominion is undergoing a process of disintegration, as Dr. Bender seeks to prove in the February number of this Magazine. The political consolidation of the country is fast bringing about material consolidation, and the growth of national sentiment is commensurate to the progress that has been made. The maritime provinces have been connected with central Canada by the Intercolonial Railway; British Columbia has been brought into close communication with the sister provinces by the Canadian Pacific Railway which has also opened up the North-west to settlement; the great Welland Canal has been constructed; other waterways have been improved, and the older provinces have been covered with a net-work of railways. At the time of confederation Canada was almost without railways. Now there are over ten thousand miles in operation, and at least a thousand more will be open for traffic before next Dominion Day. Following are railways now in operation, with the mileage of each: Canadian Pacific with its branches, 3,678; Grand Trunk, 2,694; Intercolonial, 830; New Brunswick, 397; Northern and North-western, 382; Canada Southern, 376; Prince Edward Island, 196; Quebec Central, 148; South-eastern, 185; Windsor and Annapolis, 130; Canada Atlantic, 135; Manitoba and North-western, 130; Central Ontario, 104; Western Counties, N. B., 67; Quebec and Lake St. John, 46; St. Martins and Upham, N. B., 30; Kingston and Pembroke, 61; International of Quebec, 69; Eastern Extension, 80; Grand Southern, N. B., 82; Erie and Huron, 36; Cumberland, N. S., 32; Napanee, Tamworth and Quebec, 28; Albert, N. B., 45; Bay of Quinte Navigation, 15; Cobourg, Peterboro' and Marmora, 15; Chatham, N. B., 9; Carillon and Grenville, 13; Elgin, Petiscodiac and Havelock, 14. Of all these railways the Canadian Pacific is the most necessary to the consolidation of Canada, and its construction has been most strenuously opposed from the first by the Provincialists, who declared that it would be far better to let British Columbia go than to undertake such a stupendous work. When they found that the majority of the people favored the construction of the railway they proposed to compromise the matter by building the prairie section and making connection with the American railways at the Manitoba boundary line. They said that the section along the north shore of Lake Superior would never pay expenses, that the cost of constructing it would be enormous, and that it could not possibly be worked in winter. But the Dominionists argued that not only was an all Canadian route necessary to the integrity of the Dominion but the trade of the North-west would be lost to Eastern Canada

if the only means of communication was through the United States. Well, the railway was built from Montreal to the Pacific Ocean, and has been successfully operated throughout during the past winter. Passenger and freight trains have run between Montreal and the Rocky Mountains regularly and no difficulty has been experienced in operating the Lake Superior section.

The growth of interprovincial trade since confederation has kept pace with the construction of railways. The wholesale trade of the maritime provinces which once centered in Boston now largely centers in Montreal, and the interests of the different provinces are growing more identical every year. Many of the older men in the maritime provinces still cherish their dislike to the Dominion, but most of the young men now call themselves Canadians, and are growing proud of the name. There are still more anti-confederationists in Nova Scotia than in any other part of Canada, and some of the Reform papers even advocate secession, but the Conservative papers are all strongly Canadian in tone, and whatever grumbling there may be between times in that province, the Dominionists are always sustained when an election comes. In the North-west the Hudson Bay Territory has been divided into the Province of Manitoba and the Territories of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Athabaska. Manitoba already has quite a large population, and its capital, Winnipeg, has about 30,000 inhabitants, while the territories are being rapidly settled and thriving towns are springing up all over the country. Winnipeg's population has not greatly increased during the last three years, but its character has greatly changed. In 1883 it was almost the only town of the North-west, being the head-quarters of the contractors, who were rapidly pushing forward the construction of the prairie section of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was overrun with speculators and land-grabbers, land sold at enormous prices, and the value of everything was highly inflated. Now the boom is over, but an era of quiet prosperity and steady progress as the commercial metropolis of the Canadian North-west seems to have set in, although some people predict that the great city will be farther west. Immediately after the collapse of the boom there was some wild talk about seceding from the confederation. People spoke of Canada *and* the North-west as if they were separate countries, and the Provincialists in all the provinces began to think that the long expected collapse of the confederation was to be brought about by the people of the North-west. But with the completion of the railway came renewed prosperity, and there are to-day no more enthusiastic Canadians than the people of Manitoba and the North-west, although those in the Territories, of course, demand more rep-

resentation at Ottawa, just as Dakota is demanding admission as a State of the Union. They will all be admitted as regular provinces of the Dominion long before their population equals that of Dakota, and it is expected that at the next session of Parliament provision will be made for the representation of the Territories by members who will have the right to vote as well as speak, which will be in advance of the American system of territorial representation.

The strength of Canadian national sentiment was evidenced by the promptness with which the volunteers all over the country sprang to arms at the time of the Riel rebellion, and the enthusiasm that greeted their home-coming. They received ovations all along the line of railway, the townsmen crowding to the stations to cheer them, the ladies boarding the trains with coffee, baskets of provisions and button-hole bouquets. All Winnipeg was out-of-doors to welcome the boys; Montreal forgot that its population was divided and showed that even if the people spoke two languages they all cheered the same way; and Toronto went crazy with enthusiasm. There was never anything like it. A gentleman, who saw the victorious German troops enter Berlin after the Franco-Prussian war, informed me that the reception could not be compared with that given by Toronto to its returning volunteers. It is true that much ill feeling was afterward generated by the discussion of Riel's punishment, but the gravity of the situation is much exaggerated by Dr. Bender. In discussing the relations between the French and English-speaking citizens of Canada, Dr. Bender always refers to the latter as British. This is a mistake. The majority of English-speaking Canadians are not of English descent. According to the Dominion census, which classes the people according to their origin, the French rank first in numbers, Irish second, English third, Scotch fourth, and German fifth; but the English-speaking population are now almost as mixed as the Americans. In taking this census, descendants of United Empire Loyalists who emigrated from the American colonies after the Revolutionary war, were nearly all ranked as English, although they are generally of mixed race, and as like as can be to descendants of old American families in the United States. The accent of English-speaking Canadians is American, their appearance is more American than English, and since confederation, British sentiment has been, to a great extent, displaced by Canadian sentiment, especially in Ontario and the North-west. The most intelligible terms are Canadians and French-Canadians, for the French are the only section of the community that do not intermingle with the rest. The French-speaking population of Canada has greatly increased since confederation, but it

cannot be said to have grown more Frenchified. In Montreal nearly all the French-Canadians can speak English, while comparatively few Canadians can speak French. English is taught in all the French schools, and while French is likely to be the language of the home in Quebec province for generations, English is certain to be the language of commerce. If the chief cities of the province derived their importance from local trade, the French language would undoubtedly prevail in the end, but the manufacturers and importers depend more upon the maritime provinces, Ontario and the North-west for trade, than on their own province. The geographical position of Quebec province is such that it cannot become commercially isolated from the rest of the continent, and the people trading continually with English-speaking people must gradually become Anglicized. It may be said that so little has been accomplished in that direction in the past that nothing can be expected from the future, but it must be remembered that the era of railroad construction in Canada has just begun, and that the whole railroad system of the country will always be to a great extent tributary to the Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific Railways, which have their termini in this province. As the North-west becomes populated with millions of English-speaking people and Ontario's population increases, the volume of trade pouring down the St. Lawrence will be enormous, and having such close commercial relations with the rest of the Dominion, the people of Quebec must in time become assimilated. Socially the Canadians and French-Canadians do not intermingle as they should, but the lines are not as rigidly drawn as they were at one time. In business no distinctions are made, as a rule, and those Americans who imagine that a war of races is liable to break out at any time in Canada, would be surprised at the amicable relations that really exist between the French and English-speaking citizens of Montreal. Undoubtedly it would be far better for Canada if the French-Canadians would intermarry with the rest of the population and adopt the English language, but there are no indications that the isolation of the French is likely to bring about the disintegration of Canada. Some of the minor French politicians and newspapers may declare that the French-Canadians are more French than ever, but there is no doubt that English ideas have made considerable headway. Moreover, they are not now confined to one province, although the majority are in Quebec, and the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy is always on the side of the Dominion government. This generation certainly will not see a fusion of the two races, but there is no reason to expect that the people will not live amicably side by side in the future as they are doing at present and have done in the past, mu-

tually dependent upon each other. There has been no approach to a deadlock in Parliament since confederation, and while charges of French aggression have been made in some quarters, no case has ever been instanced in which the interests of one race were sacrificed to satisfy the other by Dominion legislation. It is true, the French-Canadians have opposed the incorporation of Orangemen, being supported in this by Mr. Blake, the leader of the Reform party, and many of his followers, but that was a question of religion rather than race, and Irish members also voted against it. The only question that ever threatened trouble was the hanging of Riel, and the excitement over that has almost entirely subsided, without any evil effects. Indeed, the effects of the agitation are likely to be beneficial. The French have been taught that they are only a part of the Canadian people, and that the laws of the Dominion will not be set aside at the dictation of mob orators; moreover, they are likely to take more interest in the management of North-west affairs in the future, and this will be the means of lifting them out of their narrow, provincial rut. There is nothing alarming in an occasional wordy conflict between the two sections of the people. It shows that they are rubbing together instead of drifting apart, and while neither may admit that the other is right, the arguments advanced are not without effect.

The Riel agitation took much larger dimensions on paper than it ever had in fact. The members of the French-Canadian wing of the Conservative party are known as Bleus and the French Reformers as Rouges. While the rebellion was in progress a few Rouge politicians, hoping to make party capital, held meetings in Montreal justifying the action of the half-breeds, comparing them to the patriots of 1837, and denouncing the government. Their meetings were poorly attended at first, and were laughed at by newspapers of the Bleu persuasion; but after the rebellion was suppressed and the lower classes of French-Canadians became excited against the English-speaking people by the enforcement of compulsory vaccination laws, to which they were opposed, the attendance at the meetings greatly increased, and a number of Bleu politicians, growing alarmed lest their constituents might be carried away by the eloquence of the Rouges, joined them in demanding the commutation of Riel's sentence, threatening to establish a new party and assist the Reformers in ousting the Conservatives from power unless their demands were granted. It was a crisis in the history of Canada. Had the government yielded to a demand made in such a way, there would have been just grounds for Dr. Bender's gloomy predictions. But the course of justice was not interfered with; Riel was justly punished, and the agitation has already subsided,

largely owing to the vigorous action of the Roman Catholic clergy in upholding the action of the Dominion government and denouncing rebellion and sedition. Of the twenty French Conservative members of Parliament who joined the Rouges in forming the so-called National party, all but seven are said to have returned to the support of the administration, and even should the twenty join the Reformers in a vote of want of confidence, the government would still have a large majority. Much has been said about the demonstrations in Montreal against the government, but the great body of French-Canadians took no part in them. The effigy-burning was mostly done by medical students of Victoria University, who gladly seized the opportunity for a lark. They good-humoredly sang songs as they marched through the streets, and the only occasion when trouble was feared was the night that the medical students of McGill University turned out in a body, and being joined by a number of other young men, some of whom were members of the volunteer regiments in civilian dress, paraded the west end of the city, threatening to attack the Victoria students if they entered the English section. Mr. Beaugrand, the energetic Mayor of Montreal, addressed both bodies of students, exacting from each a promise not to cross Bleury Street, the dividing line between the English and French sections, and so a fight was avoided. On the following Sunday afternoon ten or fifteen thousand people crowded to Champ de Mars square and listened quietly to the speeches of the French-Canadian orators. They had nothing to do after church in the morning, the day being generally regarded as a holiday by the French, and it was a pleasant way to pass the afternoon, for these French-Canadian politicians are all fine speakers. But the agitation was carried on most hotly in the newspapers. The circulation of the French papers depends upon the encouragement of French sentiment, and they kept the excitement up as long as possible. That the French-Canadians in general were not very greatly interested in the matter is shown by the fact, that notwithstanding all the efforts to raise a Riel fund, before and since the execution of the rebel leader, only about \$250 was collected, which was recently sent to Madame Riel.

There never was anything more absurd than this Riel agitation in Quebec province, and many French-Canadians are now ashamed of their part in it. In the first place Riel had very little French blood in his veins. He himself claimed that his Scandinavian ancestors, the Rielsons, emigrated to Ireland and intermarried with the Irish, that afterward, emigrating to Canada and dropping the termination "son," they intermarried with the French and Indians. The French-Canadians are Roman Catho-

lics, but Riel's avowed object was to establish a new Church. He denounced the Roman Catholic priesthood and the Pope, and treated the priests in his power with great indignity. Moreover, two French-Canadian priests were massacred by the Indians whom he incited. The French-Canadians were well represented in the Dominion Parliament and the Dominion Cabinet, and had they interested themselves in the alleged grievances of the half-breeds before the rebellion they could easily have secured the granting of the petitions. Riel must have known this, for he was an educated man and well acquainted with many of the Quebec politicians. But he never appealed to them, the half-breeds never appealed to them, and they did not take the slightest interest in the matter in or out of Parliament until the first shot was fired by the rebels at Duck Lake. There was nothing heroic in his conduct of the rebellion to excite the sympathies of the French-Canadians, and it was proven at the trial that he offered to leave the country if the government would pay him \$35,000, intimating that he was the half-breed question and that no further trouble would occur if he was satisfied. It is true that when he found death inevitable he renounced his heresies and died bravely, but that did not entitle him to be ranked as a hero. A few days afterward there died on the scaffold at London, Ont., a man who had brutally murdered his paramour because she refused to give him ten cents to buy liquor; he, too, died bravely and calmly, making an earnest profession of religion. And what were the grievances of the half-breeds? By the laws of Canada a half-breed in the North-west Territories could class himself either as an Indian or a white man, having all the privileges of either. As an Indian he would be subject to Indian treaties, would have his share in the Indian reserves, and receive Indian rations from the government. As a white man he would have exactly the same privileges as any other Canadian. He could locate a free claim of 160 acres and obtain a title to it after performing settlement duties for three years, and he could preempt 160 acres more, paying for it at the rate of two dollars and a half per acre on time. But this did not satisfy the half-breeds; they wished to have the privileges of both white men and Indians; they demanded that their farms be surveyed in long narrow strips instead of according to the system of both the American and Canadian governments; they insisted that they should be given scrip for 240 acres of land which they could sell at once to speculators, instead of obtaining titles to their land in the regular way by performing settlement duties; and asked to be exempted from the restrictions regarding the cutting of timber, to which white settlers were subject. After some delay the government agreed to

survey the land according to their peculiar method, but refused to grant them greater privileges than the whites in other respects. They continued to agitate and, finally, wearied by their importunity, the government, very injudiciously it seems to me, decided to grant scrip to all half-breeds in the North-west Territories who had not already received it in Manitoba, and on the 4th of February, 1885, notification of the appointment of a commission to settle the claims was forwarded to the half-breeds. There was some delay in sending the commission, and the rebellion broke out in the following March, the first shot being fired at Duck Lake on the 26th of the month. An explanation of the origin of the demand for scrip is necessary to an understanding of the matter. Prior to its annexation to Canada the North-west was a British Territory under the jurisdiction of the Hudson Bay Company, which held its charter from the British Government. Many people suppose that this company sold the lands of the North-west to Canada. This is a mistake. The company never had any title to the lands of the North-west, and the charter by which it secured jurisdiction over the country had expired when the territory was transferred to Canada by the British Government. The company had no legal claim for compensation, but its influence in the North-west was great, and to avoid trouble the Dominion Government agreed to give it £300,000 and a large grant of land. The Indians were recognized to be the real land-owners of the country, and the government negotiated directly with the Indian tribes for the transfer of their title, excepting in the old Red River settlement where the white employees of the Hudson Bay Company had generally intermarried with the Indians, forming a half-breed population. After the suppression of the first Riel rebellion this old district was formed into the Province of Manitoba, and the Indian claim was extinguished by granting to each half-breed scrip for 240 acres of land, those who had settled on farms being also granted titles to them as regular settlers. Many of the half-breeds at once sold their scrip to speculators, and some of them moved north to Prince Albert, in Saskatchewan Territory, where, encouraged by white speculators, they again demanded scrip. The delay in settling the matter, after it was decided to grant scrip to all half-breeds, was partly due to the difficulty expected in distinguishing between those who had already received scrip in Manitoba and those who were in the Territories at the time the Manitoba allotment was made. That is the history of the half-breed question and the second Riel rebellion. It is difficult to understand what excited the sympathies of the French-Canadians in Riel's favor, and yet there is no doubt that the feelings of many were so wrought upon by Rouge orators that for a time they

regarded him as a hero and a martyr who had been sacrificed to Orange prejudice. Possibly an explanation may be found in the fact that Riel put the Orangeman Scott to death during the first rebellion, and they believed that the Orangemen were demanding his execution on that account, although there is no evidence that the Orangemen interfered in the matter in any way. The Riel agitation was merely an ebullition of feeling which was soon worked off by a little speech-making, a number of hot editorials, and the burning of a few effigies. Everything is moving smoothly now.

There is no reason to suppose that absorption of the French-Canadians would follow annexation. Politically, Canada is more of a consolidation than a federation, the prerogatives of the Provincial legislatures being much more limited than those of the State legislatures, so that the powers of the French majority in Quebec province would be greatly increased by annexation, although their influence in the Federal Congress might not be so great as at Ottawa. In those New England towns where French-Canadians are numerically strong they maintain the same policy of isolation as in Canada. Where they are numerically weak they become Anglicized as readily in one country as in the other. French-Canadians are absorbed as quickly in Toronto as in Detroit or Buffalo. English, Scotch, Germans and Irish intermix as freely in Canada as in the United States, and some of the most enthusiastic Dominionists are Irish-Canadians.

Canada is not a paradise, nor will it ever be. It has its peculiar troubles as other countries have, but nowhere else are prosperity and liberty without license more general, and in no country are the laws more wisely administered. The standard of the judiciary is very high, lynch law is never heard of, even in the new settlements, and divorces are almost unknown. American sketches of Canadian life are almost always taken from the most unprogressive towns of Quebec province, which are no more representative of Canada than the smaller towns of Louisiana or Alabama are typical of the United States. Quebec province, as a whole, is certainly behind the age, but it occupies only a small space on the map of Canada.

Doctor Bender is altogether wrong in saying that "however sore the feeling of any race minority, and however apprehensive as to possible aggression or injustice, in future, by the majority, the kindred and sympathizing majority of no other province can help it; each province, which means each majority, is entirely independent of all the rest in regard to local and municipal affairs." The fact is, that every act passed by the Provincial legislatures must be submitted to the Dominion ministry before it becomes law, and may be vetoed at any time within a year of its pas-

sage, so that if the minority in any province is treated with glaring injustice, sympathizers in the other provinces have a whole year in which to agitate for the disallowance of the objectionable act, and as the Dominion ministry is responsible to Parliament, which represents the people of all the provinces, it is very susceptible to public opinion. No provision of the Canadian Constitution has given rise to so much public discussion as this. It is intended not only for the protection of provincial minorities, but also to prevent sectional legislation injurious to the Dominion at large. Quite a number of provincial bills have been disallowed since confederation during both Conservative and Reform administrations, but of late years the Reformers, or Provincialists, have advocated the abolition of the veto power, declaring that it is an encroachment upon the rights of the provinces, although their old leaders, Mr. George Brown, the founder of the Toronto *Globe*, and Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, strongly favored it. It is hardly worth while to notice the clerical error in Doctor Bender's article which makes the population of Ontario over 200,000 instead of over 2,000,000; but the statement that the value of real estate in Ontario fell \$30,000,000 last year, cannot be allowed to pass without challenge. Neither the Dominion nor Provincial Government published any statistics bearing on the value of real estate in Ontario last year. The last government estimate showed a very great increase instead of a decrease. The municipal assessments throughout the Province of Ontario last year showed an increase. In Toronto, the capital of the province, over three million dollars' worth of buildings were erected last year. The growth of this city well illustrates the progress of the country. In 1861 the population was 44,821; at the next census it was 56,092; in 1881 it had increased to 86,415; and now it is about 123,000.

Sir Richard Cartwright's comparison between the cost of government in the United States and Canada, quoted by Dr. Bender, is very misleading. It is true the debt of the Dominion has increased while that of the United States has been reduced, but this debt has been incurred in the construction of the most stupendous public works ever undertaken by any country of equal population—works that are not only bringing about the material consolidation of the country, but which must be the means of doubling the population in a few years, and so greatly reduce the debt per head as well as the rate of taxation, for it will cost very little more to administer the affairs of the country when the population is twice as large, while the revenue will be greatly increased. The cost of maintaining post-offices, custom-houses and other government offices is necessarily much greater per head of population in a sparsely settled country than in

one that is densely populated, and increase of population makes little difference in parliamentary expenses. But even at present Canada need not fear comparison with the United States as regards taxation. Sir Richard Cartwright and Dr. Bender overlook the fact that in Canada the cost of provincial government is defrayed by annual subsidies from the Dominion treasury, and that there is no direct taxation except for municipal purposes, the revenue being raised by customs and excise duties. Before making a comparison between the two countries, the whole cost of the various State administrations should be added to the Federal expenditure of the United States. The customs tariff of Canada is much lower than that of the United States, averaging about eighteen per cent., and the only articles upon which excise duties are imposed are liquor, tobacco and vinegar. The rate of taxation in the city of Toronto in 1883 was 15½ mills on the dollar; in 1884, 15½ mills; in 1885, 17 mills, the increase being due to a special tax for the establishment of a public library. If Toronto were situated in an American State instead of in a Canadian Province the State tax would be added to this direct tax, while the indirect taxes, in the shape of customs and excise duties, would also be increased.

The idea that Canadians generally are looking to Washington for relief is purely imaginary. There are among the Provincialists of Canada many who would like to see annexation brought about, but so sure are they that the majority of the people are strongly opposed to it that not a single politician or newspaper can be found to openly advocate the change. This aversion to annexation does not result from any dislike of Americans; it is the natural independence of a self-reliant, energetic people, who believe that there is room for two great liberal nations on the North American continent.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Watson Griffis".

MONTRÉAL, CANADA, *March 5.*

THE CONVENTION OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1788

WHEN the Convention of North Carolina was organized, Galloway moved that the Constitution be discussed clause by clause.

Willie Jones moved that the question upon its adoption, be immediately put. It had so long been the subject of the deliberation of every man, that the members of the Convention were (he believed) prepared to vote.

Iredell was surprised at the motion. "A Constitution has been formed after much deliberation. It has had the sanction of men of the first characters, for their probity and understanding. It has also had the solemn ratification of ten States in the Union. It ought not to be adopted or rejected, in a moment. Shall the representatives of North Carolina, assembled for the express purpose of deliberating upon the most important question that ever came before a people, refuse to discuss it, and discard reasoning as useless? I should not choose to determine on any question without mature reflection; and on this occasion my repugnance to a hasty decision is equal to the magnitude of the subject. I readily confess my present opinion strongly in its favor, but notwithstanding, I have not come here resolved, at all events, to vote for its adoption. I have come to learn, and to judge. The Constitution ought to be discussed in such a manner that all possible light may be thrown on it. If they who think that it would be a bad government will unfold the reasons of their opinion, we may all concur in it. Can it be supposed that any here are so obstinate and tenacious of their opinion, that they will not recede upon reasons to change it? Has not every one here received useful knowledge from communication with others? Have not many of the members of this house, when members of the Assembly, frequently changed opinions upon subjects of legislation? If so, surely a subject of so complicated a nature, and which involves such serious consequences, requires the most ample discussion. I hope, therefore, that we shall imitate the laudable example of the other States, and go into a committee of the whole house, that the Constitution may be discussed clause by clause."

Jones, if members differed from him as to the propriety of his motion, submitted to their views.

Rev. Mr. Caldwell, in order to obviate the difficulty attending discussion, conceived it necessary to lay down certain fundamental prin-

ciples of free government, compare the Constitution with them, and judge it, by its consonance to them.

Davie observed, that to lay down a number of original principles would require a double investigation, the principles would have to be established, and then the comparison would have to be made.

Caldwell presented his principles. "A government is a compact between the rulers and the people. Such compact ought to be lawful in itself. It ought to be lawfully executed. Unalienable rights ought not to be given up, if not necessary. The compact ought to be mutual. It ought to be plain, obvious, and easily understood."

Iredell. "The first principle is erroneous. In other countries, where the origin of government is obscure, and its formation different from ours, government may be deemed a compact between the rulers and the people, with the consequence, that unless the rulers are guilty of oppression, the people, upon the principle of contract, which cannot be annulled without the consent of both parties, have no right to new-model their government. Our government is founded upon much nobler principles. Our people are known with certainty to have originated it themselves. Those in power are their servants and agents, and the people, without their consent, may new-model their government whenever they think proper; not merely because it is oppressively exercised, but because they think another form will be more conducive to their welfare. It is upon the footing of this very principle, that we are now met, to consider this Constitution before us."

Caldwell admitted that the government proposed did not resemble the European governments, but thought it yet partook of the nature of a compact.

Macklaine said the "principles" were taken from sources which cannot hold here. In England the government is a compact between the people and the King.

Goudry thought that there was a quibble upon words. Compact, agreement, covenant, bargain, or what not, the intent of the instrument was a concession of power, by the people to rulers. We know private interest generally governs mankind. Power belongs originally to the people, but if rulers are not well guarded, that power may be usurped from them; hence the necessity of general rules.

Iredell said, "the line between power which is given, and which is retained, ought to be as accurately drawn as possible. In this system, the line is most accurately drawn, by the positive grant of powers to the general government. But a compact between the rulers and the ruled is certainly not

the principle of this government. Will any man say that if there be a compact it can be altered without the consent of both parties? Those who govern, unless they grossly abuse their trust, which is held an implied violation of the compact, and therefore a dissolution of it, have a right to say that they do not choose that the government should be changed. But have any of the officers of our government a right to say so, if the people choose to change it? Surely not."

Spencer: "I conceive that it will retard business to consider the proposal. It does not apply to the present circumstances. When there is a king, or other governors, there is a compact between the people and him. In this case, in regard to the government it is proposed to adopt, there is no ruler or governor."

The previous question being put, was carried by an immense majority, then the motion to consider the Constitution, clause by clause, was debated and carried, by a great majority.

Caldwell inquired the meaning of "We, the People."

Davie supposed the question to be prompted by the assumption that the Federal Convention had exceeded its powers; as a member of that Convention, he could answer for its action. Its mission was "to decide upon the most effectual means of removing the defects of our Federal Union. That was a general discretionary authority, to propose any alteration thought necessary and proper. The State Legislatures were afterwards to review the proceedings. Through their recommendation, the plan is submitted to the people, and it must remain a dead letter or receive its operation from the fiat of this Convention. The general objects of the Union are to protect us against foreign invasion, internal commotions and insurrections, and to promote the commerce, agriculture, and manufactures of America. To neither was the Confederation competent; and as it would have been dangerous to lodge additional power in a single body, a different organization was necessary. To form some balance, the departments of government were separated, and the Legislature divided into two branches. The House is immediately elected by the people, the Senate represents the sovereignty of the States. The difference of the States, in point of importance and magnitude, was an additional reason for the two branches. The protection of the small States, against the ambition and influence of the larger, could only be effected, by arming them with equal power in one branch of the Legislature. Without that check, the consent of the smaller States could not have been obtained. The Executive is separated in its functions from the Legislature, as well as the nature of things would admit. A radical defect of the old system was, that it legis-

lated for States, not individuals, and that its powers could only be executed by military forces, instead of by the intervention of the civil magistrate. Every one acquainted with the relative situation of the States, and the genius of our citizens, must acknowledge, that if the government was to be carried on by military force, the citizens of America would be rendered the most implacable enemies to one another, and if it could be thus carried into effect against the small States, it could not be put in force against the larger and more powerful. The Convention knew that all governments merely federal, had been short lived, or had existed from principles extraneous to their constitution, or from external causes, which had no dependence on the nature of their governments; therefore it departed from that solicism in politics, the principle of legislation for States, in their political capacity. The great extent of country appeared a formidable difficulty, but a Confederate government appears, at least in theory, capable of embracing the various interests of the most extensive territory. There was a real difficulty in conciliating a number of jarring interests, arising from the incidental, but unalterable, difference, between the States, in point of territory, situation, climate, and rivalship in commerce. Each, therefore, amicably and wisely relinquished its particular views. I hope that the same spirit of amity, of mutual deference, and concession, to which the Federal Convention attributed the Constitution, will govern the deliberation and decision of this Convention."

Taylor returned to "We, the People." He saw in these words an intention of consolidation. Maclaine was astonished to hear objections to the preamble. "Is not this a dispute about words, without any meaning whatever? This Constitution is a blank until it is adopted by the people. When that is done here, is it not the people of North Carolina that do it, joined with the people of the other States, that have adopted it? The expression, then, is right."

Caldwell remarked that while all legislative power was placed in the Congress, the Vice-President was associated with the legislative power by his casting vote.

Davie stated why the Federal Convention imposed that duty on the Vice-President. "The commercial jealousy between the Eastern, and Southern States had a principal share in this business. It might happen in important cases, that the voices would be equally divided. Indecision might be inconvenient, and dangerous to the public. The Vice-President, in consequence of his election, is the creature of no particular State or district. He must possess the confidence of the States in a very great degree, and is consequently the most proper person to decide on cases of

that kind. It is impossible that any officer could be chosen more impartially." Maclaine added, that a provision of the sort was to be found in all legislative bodies, was useful, expedient, and calculated to prevent the operation of the government from being impeded.

Lenoir observed, that the President was also connected, to some extent, with the legislative powers; whereupon Iredell attempted a distinction between the power to legislate, and the power to prevent legislation. There are no two provisions in the Constitution more wise, than the casting vote of the Vice-President and the veto of the President, and none more defensible; but to contend that the power which enables something to become, or forbids it to become law, is not a legislative power, is to juggle with words. The impolicy of not meeting an issue squarely, was demonstrated on the next objection; that the executive was blended with the legislative power, as the Senate acted upon treaties. The answer might have been: this is a government *sui generis*. There is in it, an association to some extent, of the legislative and executive functions, very prudent and proper. There is an agency for making statutes, and an agency for making treaties, the functions are different, if the persons are the same. Instead of which, a verbal distinction was drawn, which did not satisfy inquiry, and increased suspicion. Upon the word "sole," in the clause which gives to the House of Representatives the power of impeachments, debate was sharp. No one contended that the word was not superfluous, although it was claimed that the surplusage could not injure, as by the context it was plain that impeachment was limited to officers of the United States. The answer in substance was: every unnecessary word in a Constitution is dangerous; casuistry can find exercise enough in the imperfection of language, without extraneous aid. "Sole" may contain danger. Upon the Federal regulation of the time, place, and manner of elections, Governor Johnston was forced to say: "Although a great admirer of the Constitution, I cannot comprehend the reason of this part. This power in Congress appears useless, so long as the State Legislatures have the power not to choose senators; but I do not consider this blemish in the Constitution sufficient for rejection. I observe that every State which has adopted, and recommended alterations, has given directions to remove this objection."

Spencer, conscious as he was of the excellencies of the Constitution, and reluctant to find fault, could not consent to a provision which sapped the foundations of those governments on which the happiness of the States, and of the general government must depend. Iredell appealed to the candor and moderation of the last speaker to consider the language in connec-

tion with the rest of the instrument. Representatives were to be chosen every two years; they must be chosen. Whether in January, March or any other month, was all that was left for future Congressional regulation. He could see in the possibilities of a State legislature being unable to act in case of war, or in the combination of some great States not to send representatives, the reasons which prompted the clause.

He was careful not to touch upon "place and manner." Spencer responded: "I only meant to say that the words are exceedingly vague. They may admit of the construction just given; they may admit of a contrary construction. In a matter of so great moment, words ought not to be so vague and indeterminate. No man wishes for a Federal government more than I do. I consider it necessary to our happiness, but at the same time when we form a government which must entail happiness or misery on posterity, nothing is of more consequence than settling it, so as to exclude animosity, and a contest between the Federal and the individual governments. The words under consideration are words of very great extent, and so vague and uncertain that they must ultimately destroy the whole liberty of the United States."

Davie asserted two reasons for the existence of the clause. If he was justified by facts, they must be part of an unwritten history of the Federal Convention. The principal reason was to prevent the dissolution of the government by designing States. Without this control in Congress, the large States might successfully combine to destroy the Federal government. Another principal reason was, that it would operate in favor of the people, against the ambitious designs of the Federal Senate. He next inquired as to the effect of the clause. A fundamental principle beyond the reach of the general or the State government, is that representatives shall be chosen every two years; that the qualifications of these electors shall be the qualifications of electors to the most numerous branch of the State legislature, and that senators shall be chosen for six years. All the power of a State legislature is to regulate the when, the where, and the how; that was equally the power of Congress, no less, no more.

Bloodworth said: "It was easy to mention that the control of Congress should be exerted when a State neglected, refused, or was unable, in case of invasion, to regulate elections. If that was the meaning, why was it not expressed? If more was meant, that was a sufficient reason to reject the Constitution. There seemed to be a strange inconsistency in the arguments adduced."

Spencer, willing to give the general government impost, excise, and direct taxation, in case of war, was unwilling to concede the latter power

during peace, until requisitions had been made, neglected or refused. The power of direct taxation should be kept as near to the people as possible.

Whitmill Hill remarked that while the general wish was to empower Congress to raise all necessary sums, there was a great difference of opinion as to the better mode. Two circumstances might weigh with the committee. First, that the people of North Carolina had the honesty, and the ability, to pay any reasonable tax; secondly, that when it was once known to foreign nations that the government and its finances were upon a respectable basis, money for any emergency could be borrowed on advantageous terms.

Governor Johnston denied the assumption that, under the proposed system, the power of taxation was taken out of the hands of the people. "Taxes must be voted by their representatives. If there were danger from that source, where can political security be found. It is said that our proportion of representation is small; then our proportion of taxation is small, and unless we suppose that all the members of Congress will combine to ruin their constituents, there can be no reason for fear."

Goudy and McDowell disclosed the reasons for the overwhelming opposition to the grant of power of direct taxation. "Some represent us as honest, but not rich; others as rich, but not honest. The fact is, we are very poor, and not able to bear taxation for more than one government. If there are two, with equal right to tax, one must give way. The tendency of the Constitution to destroy the State governments must be clear to every man of common understanding."

Other clauses were read without debate, until that which admitted the slave trade was reached.

McDowell asked the reasons of the Federal Convention for that exception.

Spraight answered, that it was the result of a compromise between the Eastern and the Southern States. South Carolina and Georgia had lost a great many slaves during the war and wished to supply the loss. As North Carolina had not passed any law to prohibit the importation of negroes, her delegates had not felt authorized to contend for an immediate prohibition of it.

By both sides the utmost repugnance was manifested to the clause. The Convention only yielded its detestation, to the reasoning of Iredell, that the Constitution really presented the only means, so far as Americans were concerned, of terminating an odious traffic. On the subject of slavery itself, the sentiment of North Carolina and Virginia appears to have

been identical. Two difficulties stood in the way of manumission: a right of property, which had been universally recognized up to that period, and a repugnance of race. Perhaps both were never more clearly and calmly stated, than in this discussion, by Galloway. After expressing his horror of an "abominable traffic" he continued: "With respect to the abolition of slavery, it requires the utmost consideration. The property of the Southern States is principally in slaves; if slavery is done away with, this property will be destroyed. If we must manumit our slaves, to what country shall we send them. It is impossible for us to be happy, if after manumission, they are to stay among us." The aversion of race is to some extent cruel, and to some extent silly, but it is not a mere prejudice; it has some reason in the nature of things.

The clause which vested executive power having been read, and no observation made, Davie expressed "surprise at the silence and gloomy jealousy of the opposition. Out of doors, no feature of the Constitution had met with such violent, indeed, virulent censure."

Taylor thought that even if the Convention possessed the power to amend the Constitution, every part need not be discussed, as some were not objectionable; his objection was to the power of Congress to determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they should give their votes. His meaning, that everything which could be, should be definitely fixed, beyond the future passions of men, was mistaken for concern as to a detail, not as to a principle.

The answers, with justice, applauded the detail, but the scruple was not obviated. Upon the association of the Senate with the President, in treaty-making, and appointments to office, Spencer detailed the grounds of opposition, which, if neither acceptable, nor accepted, were based upon a careful study of political science. It is an essential article in our Constitution, that the executive, the legislative, and the supreme judicial powers of government ought to be forever separate and distinct from each other. The Senate, in the proposed plan, are possessed of legislative power in conjunction with the House. They are possessed of the sole power of trying impeachments, and by this clause, in effect, they possess the chief executive power. They form treaties which are to be the law of the land. They control the appointment, practically, of all the officers of the United States. The President may nominate, but they have a negative upon his nomination. He will be obliged, finally, to acquiesce in the appointment of those whom in reality the Senate will nominate, or else no appointment will be made. Hence, it is easy to perceive that the President, in order to do any business, or to answer any purpose in this department of his office, and to

keep himself out of perpetual hot water, will be under a necessity to form a connection with that powerful body, and be contented to put himself at the head of the leading members who compose it. I do not expect at this day, that the outline and organization of the proposed government will be materially changed, but it would have been infinitely better, and more secure, if the President had been provided with a Standing Council, composed of a member from each State, whose term of office might have been the same as his own. Two very important consequences would result, which cannot result from the present plan. The first, that the executive department being separate and distinct, the President and his Council, any or either, would be amenable to the justice of the land. As it is, I do not conceive that the President can even be tried by the Senate, with any effect, or to any purpose, for any misdemeanor in office, unless it should extend to high treason, or unless they should wish to fix the odium of any measure upon him, in order to exculpate themselves. The other important consequence is, that the President would have an independence which he does not have in this plan. If no other argument for a council could be urged, the diminution of the power of the Senate would be sufficient. Davie admitted that a total separation of the branches of government was desirable, but it has never been found entirely practicable. So far as it was departed from in this system, the causes would be found in the extreme jealousy of executive power in the American mind, and the difference in size, wealth, and population of the States. The smaller States had a disproportionate influence in the government which they insisted was necessary to their safety. That influence is exerted in the Senate. The difficulty could not be got over. It arose from the unalterable nature of things. Upon some subjects the smaller States would not agree that the House should have a voice, and upon the same subjects none of the States would agree that the President should have an exclusive voice. Not only the present distribution of power is good in itself, but no one can suggest a better. A council would be open to every objection that can be urged against the Senate, and to other objections which cannot be urged against the Senate. The Senate represents the Federal principle of the government and is the safeguard against consolidation. Its great power is commensurate with its functions. Iredell added, "God forbid that in any country a man should be punished for want of judgment. For errors of the heart, should any be committed here, there is a ready way to punishment. That is a responsibility which answers every purpose a people jealous of their liberties can ask. Parties must exist, and may be bitter; the malignity of party will interpret difference of opinion, as deliberate wickedness."

Upon the judiciary clause, debate was not conducive to harmony. Davie urged the undeniable political truth, that the judicial must be co-extensive with the legislative power. The proposition was not denied, the contention turned upon the point whether the judicial was not, or might not, become more extensive, and the Constitution become judge-made, not convention-made. The object of a constitution being to fix the meum and tuum between the States, and between the general government of the States, the judiciary, it was conceded, might be qualified and trusted to decide whether either was invaded, but not to determine whether the meum and tuum had been properly partitioned. This course of reasoning led, naturally, to the consideration of the necessity for a Bill of Rights. Davie and others insisted that, though necessary in a monarchy, it was unnecessary in such a government, the Constitution itself being a Bill of Rights, as it excluded whatever was not included.

Spencer answered: "It is said that what is not given up to the United States will be retained by the individual States. I know it ought to be so, and should be understood so, but it is not declared, as it was in the Confederation. What is not declared is apt to be overlooked. The language in the Articles of Confederation was the equivalent of a Bill of Rights."

Iredell asked what more could be necessary when the people declare how much they give. The Constitution may be considered as a great power of attorney. If we had formed a general legislature, with undefined powers, a Bill of Rights would not have been not only proper, but necessary, to operate exceptions to the legislative authority. Spencer's belief that what is generally understood ought to be distinctly stated, seems to be approved by events. Had the friends of the Constitution embodied in it, or in an amendment, the declarations they made in conventions, the epithets of their posterity might have been differently distributed. The omission of mention of a jury in civil cases, while specified in criminal cases, excited great alarm.

Iredell stated the cause of the omission. "Let any gentleman consider the difficulties in which the Federal Convention was placed. A union was absolutely necessary. Everything could be agreed upon, except the regulation of the trial by jury in civil cases. All were anxious to establish it on the best footing, but found that they could fix upon no permanent rule that was not liable to great objections and difficulties. If the delegates could not agree among themselves, they had still less reason to believe that all the States would have unanimously agreed to any one plan that could be proposed. They therefore thought it better to leave the regulations to the legislature. It has been said that the objection might have been ob-

viated by the addition of five or six lines. If, by the addition of five or six hundred lines, this invaluable object could have been secured, I should have thought the Convention criminal in omitting it."

Among the amendments to the Constitution, a few lines dissipated doubts and dispelled fears upon that point.

Iredell explained the reasons for the "Fugitive Slave" clause. "Some of the Northern States have emancipated their slaves. If any of our slaves go there, and remain a certain time, they would, under present laws, be entitled to their freedom, so that their masters could not get them again, to prevent which this clause is inserted." The reasons for the prohibition to the States, of issuing paper money, and making anything, save gold and silver, a legal tender, were asked of those members who had been delegates to the Federal Convention. The answer was, mischief had been done, it could not be repaired, but some limitation to that great political evil had to be formed. The people of Massachusetts and Connecticut had been great sufferers by the dishonesty of Rhode Island, and similar complaints existed against this State. The clause became, in some measure, a preliminary, with the delegates who represented the other States. You have, said they, by your iniquitous laws, and paper emissions, shamefully defrauded our citizens. The Confederation prevented our compelling you to do them justice; but before we confederate with you again, you must not only agree to be honest, but put it out of your power to be dishonest.

Galloway asked if the inhibition on a State to pass a law impairing the obligation of contracts applied to the public securities of a State. Davie answered, "In no part of the Constitution is power vested to interfere with the public securities of a State. The clause refers to contracts between individuals."

Abbot wished to know, as treaties were to become the supreme law of the land, whether a treaty could engage to some particular religion, and also, as no religious test was required, whether in the oath to support the Constitution, Juno, Minerva, or Pluto, might not be the deities invoked.

Iredell answered, "The question has also been asked whether the Pope may not be elected President." With polite circumlocution, he suggested that the assumption of sanity, as the normal condition of mankind, was the only possible answer to some questions. The absence of any religious test was the glory of the Constitution. Men are left to believe as they can; admit the least difference, and the door is opened to persecution. Whatever form binds the conscience, is the essence of an oath. Abbot further asked the import of the guaranty of a republican form of government.

Iredell replied, "With thirteen States, confederated upon a republican principle, it was essential to the harmony and existence of the Confederacy, that each should have a republican government, and that no one should have a right to establish a monarchy, or an aristocracy."

The reading of the Constitution finished, the question next in order was, What will be the relation of North Carolina to the other States, if she refuses to adopt? "She will be a foreign State," said Davie, "and can communicate with the United States only through ambassadors." "What then," it was asked, "becomes of the faith plighted by the Articles of Confederation? If some States can absolve themselves at will from the obligations of those, why not from the obligations of the Constitution?" In the Federal Convention the same inquiry had been made: "If nine States can withdraw from thirteen, why not six from nine, four from six?" Answer was avoided there, but not in the Convention of North Carolina.

"The great principle," said Iredell, "the fundamental principle upon which our government is founded, is the safety of the people. For their welfare government is instituted, and this ought to be its object, whatever its form. Our governments have clearly been created by the people themselves; the same authority that created can destroy, and the people may undoubtedly change the government, not because it is ill-exercised, but because they conceive that another form will be more conducive to their welfare. It is suggested, that though ten States have adopted the Constitution, they had no right to dissolve the old Confederation, that the Articles still subsist, and the old Union remains, of which we are a part. That this is true, may well be doubted. All writers agree that if the principles of a Constitution are violated, the Constitution itself is dissolved, or may be, at the pleasure of the parties to it. The principles of the Confederation have not seldom been violated, and North Carolina, as well as others, has been an offender. This Constitution is proposed to the thirteen States. The desire was, that all should agree, but if not, care was taken, that at least nine might save themselves from destruction."

Davie took other ground. "It is said that it is a rule of law that the same solemnities are necessary to annul, as were necessary to create, or establish a compact; and, that as thirteen States created, so thirteen States must concur in the dissolution of the Confederacy." This may be the talk of a lawyer or a judge, but is not the talk of a politician. Every man of common sense knows that political power is political right. In every republican community, whether confederated or separate, a majority binds the minority. The voice of the majority of the people of America gave

the Confederation validity; the same authority can and will annul it. Adoption places us in the Union; rejection extinguishes the right."

If Iredell was right, the claimants under the Articles of Confederation had no cause of complaint; if Davie was right, it made no difference if they had, and therefore both, with Johnston, urged adoption by arguments which reason could not answer. "You will, you admit, be satisfied with this Constitution if amended; adopt, and your strength, added to that of those States, eager for the same amendments, can carry them; reject, and your weakness will count against you, in place of your strength counting for you. Adopt, and you can help shape the new government and share in the feast; reject now, and when you adopt, as you eventually must, you will have to accept the shaping of others, and find only the crumbs."

Upon the motion to ratify, the yeas were 84, and the nays 184. Upon the motion neither to adopt nor reject, the yeas were 184, and the nays 84. By the same vote any impost passed by the United States was recommended to be passed by the Legislature of North Carolina, the proceeds to be held at the disposition of Congress.

The motive of the majority, if surmise be permissible, was to serve the desire for amendments, the difference of opinion between the majority and minority being as to whether such service would be more efficient by presence in, or absence from the councils of the new Union.

On the 11th of January, 1790, the President communicated to both Houses of Congress the ratification of the Constitution by North Carolina. At the first session of Congress, held in the city of New York, 4th March, 1789, twelve amendments were proposed to the legislatures of the States, of which ten were adopted.

A. W. Blason

THE OVERCROWDING OF CITIES

The overgrowth of our principal cities, of late years, is a phenomenon patent even to the dullest, and one which occasions serious thought to citizens in the habit of reflecting upon matters of public and future concern. The last national census immensely enhanced the sensation produced by those of the three preceding decades, not only as regards the enormous, the almost magical increase of the total population, but of that urban population which, from its character and circumstances, most challenges the attention of the visitor or the native student of American social and material problems. Perhaps no phase of our national development would produce a greater feeling of astonishment in one of the founders of the Republic, permitted to revisit its chief scenes, in this year of grace, than the marvelous uprise of the vigorous, bustling towns which intersect our northern continent in all directions, studding every railway route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the northern lakes to the Mexican gulf, but particularly the development, within a lifetime, from village proportions, of cities rivaling the richest and greatest capitals of the Old World.

Making every allowance for the mighty stimulus of efficient and far-reaching railroads, with powerful steamship lines at each end, as well as for an immigration of all races, larger than those vast barbarian movements which shook to its foundations the power of Rome and changed the course of history, the problem still presents elements well calculated to bewilder as well as to excite the most serious thought in relation to its future bearings. With a whole continent to scatter over and innumerable tracts of the most fertile and inviting land to chose from—every species of agriculture and out-door industry, with all varieties of climate presenting their respective attractions—the most devoted Cockney or sanguine denizen of the cities could hardly have anticipated their development on the present scale by this time, with the establishment of a set of conditions guaranteeing still further extraordinary progress of the same description. Does it not seem difficult to believe that, with all the varied kinds of competition put forth by the West and South, not to particularize the potent charms of the Pacific coast, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Boston and New York should have doubled their population in the last forty years simultaneously with the upstart of scores of manufacturing towns which,

for population and business transacted would have ranked as influential cities in the early part of the century? To think of New York already boasting of nearly a million and a quarter, Chicago, with her five hundred thousand, Philadelphia her eight hundred and fifty thousand, and Boston approaching four hundred thousand, is enough to justify the most extravagant expectations, not unmixed with serious reflections as to the nature of our growth and the condition of our civic population toward the close of this century.

Young as is the Republic, and vast as its extent and resources, it is but right to admit that our people find themselves confronted with social problems such as have long taxed the material and philanthropic resources of the Old World and which more fitly characterize its age and peculiar conditions. In short, our cities and large towns are suffering from that overcrowding which has ever been a leading reproach of even the most advanced of the European nations, and for which emigration to the New World has long been recommended as a salutary remedy. At first sight the spectacle appears painful and discouraging, since the poor and hopeless of other lands have been accustomed to look to America as the Canaan alone adequate to the banishment of their sorrows, and which it should be their dearest object to attain. What a sad surprise the thought of so early a failure of this promised land, cherished by the suffering masses of Europe as much for its shelter from the oppressor as for the glorious opportunities of self-help.

Such a conclusion, however, is as yet not quite warranted by the facts that our country may, for ages, with wisdom and patriotism at the helm, continue to lead the world in the greatness and true worth of its enterprises, no less than in the number and value of its attractions to humanity. Everything peculiarly distinctive of the national position and reputation belongs to such an attitude: and every American citizen worthy of the name will earnestly hope that the day is far distant, indeed, when this Republic shall cease to challenge universal affection as the best and the noblest home of the poor and the oppressed.

But while it seems just to record, at the outset, such historical facts and reflections, it is none the less advisable to consider some of the more prominent evils of our actual condition as a people, with a view to the prevention of their enlargement, if not their material diminution. Nor will it be disputed by the intelligent observer that certain social evils may assume an aspect, in this country, somewhat exceptional on account of the continuous in-pour of population to the cities.

Our peculiar position as the asylum for all nations explains the most

important difference between this Republic and even the most populous of the Old World countries, which may naturally complain of the menacing or troublesome tendency of the masses to the great business centers; for the emigrants we annually receive, in such immense swarms, largely flock to our towns, besides the considerable numbers constantly tending in the same direction from all our own agricultural districts. Among the various interesting considerations involved in this question are some materially affecting the condition of the latter element, the native American, including the settlement of the wages paid in various factories and workshops. However substantial the protection afforded the workman of this country, by a paternal government, through a high protective tariff, it is obvious that he must always reckon upon the keen-edged competition of the immigrant class, which must accept the first employment offered, however low the remuneration. Nor is it likely, till we approach much nearer the millennium, that employers, individuals or corporations, will neglect any advantages which this or other facilities may place within their reach. Of course, in close connection with the wages question stand the issues affecting the health and material and moral advancement of the working classes, with which the national progress itself is bound up. Now, the flow of our rustics to the cities has long attracted the attention of social observers, who have not seldom expressed apprehension in regard to some of its probable results. The chief sources of anxiety concern the health, morals and comfort of the masses which, for a generation or more, young as is this country and vast its extent and resources, have had hardships and perils to struggle against little if at all less trying than those encountered by the same class in France and Great Britain. To the foreign observer the American citizen may appear well off by comparison with his compeers abroad, and in some respects and particularly in good times, this is a correct view. But, on the other hand, the subject has to be considered in a relative light, in connection with American experience hitherto, with the great natural advantages of this continent and the liberal expectations formed, of its opportunities in favor of people possessing sufficient intelligence and enterprise to make the venture of emigration thereto. It is natural that these emigrants should look for a considerable amelioration of their condition, by their labor in the United States, for which they have had to sacrifice, among other things, the advantages of native climate, with friendships tender and long standing. Nor can there be a doubt that the denizens of the cities of Great Britain and other countries considerably north of our chief manufacturing and commercial centers, do suffer seriously by the greater summer heats of the western side of the Atlantic.

We should always be glad, therefore, on philanthropic no less than on patriotic grounds, to see the working-man of this country the envy of the European in regard to material circumstances and those other advantages favoring education and easy social advancement.

Regard for the welfare of the people, both in town and country, would seem to dictate, at least under anything like present circumstances, all reasonable discouragement of the influx to the cities. Its evils include, unquestionably, the economic one of the disturbance of the labor-balance; while the city markets are over-stocked, the country—particularly the newer regions—are continually uttering the apostolic cry: "Come over and help us." It is no trifling misfortune to this country to be afflicted with large masses of idle people in its towns, while its farms east and west, upon which life and prosperity mainly depend, suffer through lack of adequate cultivation. Not only do our agriculturists raise considerably less produce than they might, but, of late years, they pay more than their help is worth, this evil extending as far north as the Canadian provinces. Indeed, good farm hands were never better treated than of late, the past year, so far, offering no exception to the rule, despite the serious drop in the prices of farm produce. Why do so many of the sons of our farmers, strong, healthy young men, who constitute striking examples of the advantages of country birth and training, desert the old homesteads to seek work in town, for which they are not fit, and for which there is only petty remuneration? is a question often asked in town and country alike. The explanations given are the force of example, the well-known histories of a few celebrities, who have gained wealth and fame in the cities, and which powerfully excite the most ambitious rustics, who would fain as did Cæsar, and, regardless of the melancholy result

" Bestride the narrow world,
Like a Colossus,"

leaving humbler people, as in the first instance, to

" Walk under the huge legs."

To be sure, suspicion will attach to some of the motives of the adventurous rustic, whose antipathy to farm work is not seldom fully proportioned to his great physical qualifications for it, the fact recalling an Irish by-word: "He's big and lazy enough to join the police." But while such muscular heroes may have for a chief object the proper husbanding of their own strength, regardless of the demands upon that of their venerable and youthful relations at home, there will be others moved by lofty aims, such as

"The applause of list'ning senates to command,"
and who may also wish, some day, to

"Read their history in a nation's eyes."

In some breasts, no doubt, the *auri sacra fames* will have consumed all trace of any refined, unselfish feeling, leaving an abyss of plutonic desire that all Vanderbilt's millions would not suffice to fill. Between such spirits and nature there is no sympathy whatever; the loveliest landscape that every thrilled poet into divine song touches no chord in their earthly organism; their souls never rise above speculations and premiums, while the sweetest breeze that sways the forest and billows the corn-fields speaks only to those dry-as-dusts of probable fluctuations in the markets. Fortunately, on the other hand, even our cities, with all their absorbing interests and corroding cares, possess many to whom the very sound of "the country" comes a pure pleasure and an inspiration, esteemed among the highest joys of life. To them it is an unspeakable delight to share the emotions of the poets and admirers of nature, of every age and clime, whose genius has ever blossomed into the most witching forms of beauty in loving attempts to do justice to her manifold charms.

Though America cannot point, like European nations, to moss-grown ruins of remote antiquity or ivy-mantled relics of feudal wars, we can boast of natural wonders and scenery which, for extent, grandeur, infinite variety and beauty, may justly claim to rival and epitomize the beauties and the glories of all the rest of the world. Only the most unworthy clod could be insensible to the natural greatness and countless attractions of such a land. But though the age of sentiment as regards the majority may, like the Age of Chivalry, be "gone," we may count upon a wise and worthy element in town and country, of respectable proportions, which will continue alive to the superior charms and advantages of the country on the important grounds of health, pleasure, and business. Promising openings for ventures in agriculture will continue to be seized by city men and immigrants of rural tastes, who, though often at the cost of a tedious apprenticeship and considerable outlay, will ultimately make successful husbandmen as well as influential members of society. A proportion, moreover, of the young farmers who have passed the wild-oat stage in town, the least profitable of all agricultural experiences, and who have given up the hope of attaining, early, colossal fortunes, will always be found returning to the old or some adjoining township sadder as well as wiser men.

Proper Bender

CHANCELLORSVILLE

In April, 1863, the Army of Northern Virginia was encamped south of the Rappahannock River, in the vicinity of Fredericksburg.

Lee's lines of defense were of such natural and fortified strength, his troops so disposed as to be easily concentrated on any threatened point, that Hooker did not purpose attempting to force them. The experience of the army under Burnside, when the enemy's preparations were far less complete, had caused such a conviction to exist in the mind of every private in the ranks.

The river flows through a deep channel, and from its high and precipitous banks admitted of fording at but few places. From Bank's Ford to Skinker's Neck—twenty miles—there was a continuous line of infantry parapets; and at all places where crossing would have been practicable, the enemy's position had been strengthened during the winter months by two, and at the more exposed places, three additional lines. Abatis—of felled trees, the branches cut, sharpened and turned outward—and in places impassable swamps, further strengthened his lines and decreased the number of assailable points. The crests of the more prominent hills, where he had carefully prepared to receive us, were from three-quarters to a mile and a half from the river bank; but the river was effectively guarded by men sheltered in rifle-pits. Along these lines were battery epaulements, so located that artillery would sweep the hill-sides and bottom-lands, over which troops must have marched to an assault, which effectually protected *his* artillery from *ours*. Between the river and the hills, every little rise of ground that could protect the enemy and enable him to check an advance was intrenched. To gain the banks opposite the centre of his line was practicable in several places where high ground on our side approached the river and enabled us to command it and the adjacent lands with artillery.

The problem would have been, not to cross the river, but to force the defenses.

Our troops would have been exposed to a concentrated artillery fire for a long distance, and afterward met fresh infantry behind parapets. To turn Lee's right and gain the heights below his intrenchments, would have required a secret movement of pontoon trains and artillery for more than twenty miles, over clay roads and a broken, wooded country, the condition

of which at that time rendered it impossible. To construct roads toward King George Court-House was almost impossible, as the streams running into the Potomac interlaced near their sources so as to destroy the continuity of the dividing ridge. To such an extent is that section of Virginia cut up, that it seems as though former geological influences—that shaped the course of the streams and ravines—had almost caused the Rappahannock to flow into the Potomac at the narrowest part of the neck which separates them. On every road were transverse ravines and steep hills. Oozing springs, which animals and wheels soon mixed with the clay and turned to sloughs of mud were numerous. If a movement to turn Lee's right *could* have been made, his system of spies was such that he would have been informed of it immediately and could have extended his works as fast as we built roads. To these difficulties must be added, that at the first available place below Skinker's Neck for throwing a pontoon bridge over the river, more than a thousand feet of bridging was required. Two and a half miles above Fredericksburg—above Beck's Island—the bluffs close in upon the river, having a height of about one hundred and fifty feet, with slopes well-wooded, very steep, and deeply cut by side ravines. Bank's Ford was the nearest point where the conditions of approach to the river were at all favorable.

Lee considered it a most important point of defense and constantly kept there a large force, rendering surprise impossible. Could Hooker have gained a position upon the hills on the south side of the river, at that place, he would have commanded the enemy's lines. The bend in the river between Fredericksburg and Bank's Ford is such, that while it is six miles by the road on the north side from Falmouth to the ford, it is but three miles on the south side from Fredericksburg—over a good plank road. Lee's parapets, so located as to sweep with musketry and artillery every crossing place and every slope, were in three lines, and traversed to protect the defenders from our artillery fire. Two of the lines were so near together that their fire could be concentrated upon any force crossing the river, the steep hill permitting the rear line to fire over that in front. Had the first line been carried by assault—as retreating men would have masked the fire of the other, so that pursued and pursuers might have entered the second together—its defenders would, without doubt, have surrendered, as such were the enemy's tactics; thereby producing no confusion in the succeeding lines.

The difficulty of forcing a passage of the river was so great, that Lee did not deem it necessary, at that time, to construct redoubts upon the summit of the hill. About seven miles above Bank's Ford was United

States (Mine) Ford, or, as the Confederates called it, Bark Mill Ford, easily approached, but not fordable so early in the season. There the enemy had built long lines of infantry parapets, with battery epaulements, and two brigades of Major-General Richard H. Anderson's First Division, Third Corps—those of Brigadier-Generals William Mahone and Carnot Posey—were encamped near to occupy them. A short distance above United States Ford, the Rapidan, a river which equals the other in size, flows into the Rappahannock. Thirty miles above Falmouth, on the Rappahannock, was Kelly's Ford, pitted and abatised, but held by a small force.

The passage of two rivers, neither being fordable, and each from two to three hundred feet wide, both mountain rivers and sensitive to the slightest rains—by a flank movement, with heavy pontoon and artillery trains, at so great a distance from our base, over almost impassable roads and through interminable forests—seemed so improbable, that Lee gave himself no uneasiness concerning it, nor adopted sufficient precautions against an attempt.

Hooker's plan of operation—which he succeeded in keeping secret until its initiative disclosed it to both armies—was that his cavalry should move rapidly up the Rappahannock and, crossing, sweep down in rear of Lee's position and sever his communication with Richmond; the infantry then to cross below Fredericksburg and attack or pursue as occasion should require. The roads having become sufficiently dry to warrant such a movement, though not hard enough for much artillery, he directed Major-General Stoneman to move with all his available cavalry at 7 A.M., April 13th; turn the enemy's left, place his command between Lee and Richmond, thus cutting off his supplies, and inflict every possible injury which would tend to his discomfiture and defeat. To accomplish this he should ascend the Rappahannock by the different routes, keeping out of the enemy's sight and throwing well to the front and flank small parties, to mask his movement and cut off communication with people living on the north side of the river. He should cross at some point west of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, to be determined by circumstances.

In the vicinity of Culpepper he would probably strike Fitzhugh Lee's brigade of cavalry, numbering about two thousand, which he was expected to disperse or destroy without delay to his advance, or detriment to any considerable number of his command. At Gordonsville was a small provost-guard of infantry which he should destroy. From Gordonsville he should reach the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad at Saxton's Junction, destroying bridges, locomotives, cars, depots of supplies, and

telegraph lines. As that railroad presented the shortest line of retreat, the enemy was expected to avail himself of it and the highways each side; in which case Stoneman should select the strongest positions—the banks of streams and commanding heights—to check or prevent his retreat. If unsuccessful in holding him he should fall upon his flanks, attack his artillery and trains, and harass him until he should be exhausted and out of supplies; bearing in mind that moments of delay to the enemy would be hours and days to the army in pursuit. If Lee were to retreat by Culpepper and Gordonsville, Stoneman should keep in his front and harass him day and night, on the march and in camp, unceasingly. To quote instructions:

"If you cannot cut off from his column large slices, the general desires that you will not fail to take small ones. Let your watchword be *fight, FIGHT, FIGHT*; bearing in mind that time is as valuable to the general as the rebel carcasses. . . . It devolves upon you, general, to take the initiative in the forward movement of this grand army, and on you and your noble command must depend, in a great measure, the extent and brilliancy of our success. Bear in mind that celerity, audacity, and resolution are everything in war, and especially is it the case with the command you have, and the enterprise in which you are about to embark."

If an opportunity occurred to detach a force to Charlottesville, which was almost unguarded, and destroy depots of supplies said to be there, or along the line of the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad toward Richmond, to destroy bridges; or the crossings of the Pamunkey, in the direction of West Point, destroying ferries, felling trees to prevent or check the enemy in crossing, he should do so; as any one of the diversions would contribute toward the general success. He should rely upon Hooker being in communication with him before his supplies were exhausted, and keep him advised of his movements as often as practicable and necessary. A brigade of infantry and one battery of artillery was to proceed to Kelly's Ford, and a regiment each to Bank's and United States Fords, the morning after the departure of the cavalry, to hold and threaten those places.

The object of the movement was to sever the enemy's communication with Richmond by the Fredericksburg route, and check his retreat over that line. Everything else was to be subservient thereto. It was believed that Lee could not keep more than about four days' rations on hand; and therefore, if Stoneman's movement was successful he must of necessity abandon Fredericksburg and fall back upon his source of supplies. Could Stoneman keep Lee's army from Richmond, it must inevitably surrender to Hooker.

Stoneman moved promptly, with about thirteen thousand mounted

men, and the next day had placed one division over the river, which had reached Brandy Station, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, when a violent rain caused the river to rise so suddenly and to such an extent, that crossing the other divisions was suspended. The advance division recrossed with great difficulty by swimming its horses. All day of the fifteenth the rain poured in torrents. Stoneman was therefore directed to hold his command within easy reach of the ford and await orders.

On the 23d of April, Hooker would lose two regiments by expiration of service, and soon after the first of May many more. The Second and Tenth Maine regiments of infantry, all the New York regiments numbered from One to Thirty-eight—except the Third, Sixth, Ninth, Eleventh, and Nineteenth—and the Eighth New York Independent Battery, having a total strength of 20,927 men, would lose 16,480, enlisted for two years. Some of the regiments would be mustered out entire. The 122d, 123d, 126th, 129th, 131st, 133d, 134th, and 153d Pennsylvania regiments—having a total strength of 6,421 men—were nine months regiments, and would go. In the aggregate, 27,348 men must be discharged.

Hooker was therefore anxious to make a forward movement, and modified his plan to compel the enemy to fight him in the open country. His new plan contemplated placing the Fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Corps over the Rappahannock at Kelly's, and the Rapidan at Germania and Ely's Fords, whence they should march upon United States and Bank's Fords; attacking the enemy's forces at those places in rear, and as soon as those fords were uncovered, reinforcing the column with the troops of the Second Corps and others, sufficiently for it to continue its march upon Lee's flank, until his whole army was routed and his retreat intercepted. At the time of the movement on the right, the First, Third and Sixth Corps were to cross below Fredericksburg and threaten Lee there, to prevent his sending an overwhelming force to his left. Accordingly, on Monday, April 20th, the infantry received orders to be ready to move the next morning with eight days' cooked rations. That night and all the next day it rained hard.

On the 21st, Major-General Abner Doubleday, was sent with his division, the Third of the First Corps, down the river to Port Conway, opposite Port Royal, eighteen miles below Fredericksburg, where he made a pretense of crossing in pontoon boats, and at night built fires in every direction to give the impression of a large command. A small force of infantry was sent to threaten Kelly's Ford. On the twenty-fourth, Brigadier-General James F. Wadsworth, with the First Division of the same corps, conducted a similar expedition, relieving Doubleday, and two regiments

sent over the river in pontoon boats entered the village of Port Royal and returned. "Stonewall" Jackson, who held the right of Lee's lines, was deceived by these movements and strengthened his force in that vicinity. Wednesday, the twenty-second, the weather was pleasant, but Thursday night it rained again. The many little creeks were swollen to rivers, and on Friday, the 24th, the well-remembered bridge over Potomac Creek was carried away. It was built by the engineers, and was so high, so shaky, and so long, that officers and men frequently left the cars, and while the train waited on the other side, walked over; and yet, it was supposed to be strong. The timber having been cut in duplicate it was quickly rebuilt. On account of continued rains, the army was now directed to consume its eight days' rations so nicely cooked and snugly packed for the expected campaign—again postponed.

The two succeeding days were bright and pleasant, and on Sunday, the 26th, orders were received by the commanding officers of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps to move at sunrise next morning, and encamp as near Kelly's Ford as practicable, without discovering themselves to the enemy, on or before 4 P.M., of Tuesday, the 28th; each corps to be accompanied by one battery and two ambulances to a division, and a pack-train of small ammunition. The wagon trains and surplus artillery were to be parked near Bank's Ford. The Second Corps was ordered to move on the morning of the 28th, at sunrise, two divisions to encamp near Bank's Ford, without exposure to view of the enemy; one brigade and one battery to take position at United States Ford. The division whose camp was most exposed was to be left behind to keep up appearances. All the artillery of the two divisions was to move with them and be ready to go into position to cover the passage of the river and drive the enemy from his defenses. The division left in camp, as well as those at Bank's and United States Fords, was to be in readiness to cross the river and follow up a successful movement.

The Fifth Corps was to march on the 28th, and take the route of the Eleventh and Twelfth under similar orders. The men were full of enthusiasm and anticipation over the commencement of the often-postponed campaign. The other corps were to be placed in position to cross the river as follows: the Sixth at Franklin's Crossing; the First at the next crossing below, Pollock's Mill Creek; the Third, as a support, to cross at either point. The movements were to be made so that the respective corps should be in position, the First and Sixth on or before 3:30 A.M., and the Third on or before 4:30 A.M. of the 29th. Two bridges were to be laid at each crossing. General Sedgwick was placed in command of the

three corps constituting the left wing of the army. The orders for the conduct of these corps were somewhat similar to those of the Second Corps, except that in the event of the enemy detaching any considerable part of his force against the troops operating west of Fredericksburg, Sedgwick should "attack and carry their works at all hazards, and establish his force upon the telegraph road, cutting off all communication by the enemy, in order to prevent their turning his position on that road. In case the enemy should fall back on Richmond, he will pursue them with the utmost vigor, fighting them whenever and wherever he can come up with them.

These troops were to be provided with eight days' rations.

Such batteries of the corps and reserve artillery as might be required, were to have been placed in position, under direction of the Chief of Artillery, to cover the crossings. Sedgwick was authorized to give such further instructions as he might deem necessary to carry out the plans and wishes of Hooker. The Fifth Corps anticipated its order, and striking tents at 9 A.M. of the 27th, marched at ten o'clock on the Warrenton Turnpike, bivouacking near Hartwood Church. It moved next day at 4 P.M., and marched to the vicinity of Kelly's Ford, and camped at Crittenden's Mills, at 9 P.M. The marching was very hard owing to muddy roads. Stoneman was at Warrenton Junction—his cavalry encamped along the Orange and Alexandria Railroad—when he received, on the 27th, a telegram to meet some one from head-quarters, at Morrisville next day at 2 P.M.

Arriving there, with his division commanders, he found General Hooker and staff, and was surprised to learn that a part of the army would cross the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford that day. He had been directed to be in readiness to move on the 29th, and had made no preparations to do so sooner—such as drawing in pickets and calling in scouting parties.

At 5:45 P.M. he received written orders to cross his entire force, at such points between Rappahannock and Kelly's Ford, including these, as he might determine, or, if impracticable, to bring it to the river and have it over before eight o'clock next morning; a portion to move in the direction of Raccoon Ford and Louisa Court-House, while the remainder should carry out his original instructions. From his camp to his extreme pickets was thirteen miles; so it was late at night before the command was assembled and ready to start. Owing to the bad condition of the roads from recent rains, and the darkness of the night—doubly dark by reason of a dense fog—he did not reach the river until nearly 8 A.M., on the 29th. He found but one ford fordable, and that not by pack-mules or artillery. By great exertion he had everything over by 5 P.M., when, assembling his division and brigade commanders, with maps spread upon the ground, it was deter-

mined where each was to go and what to do. Brigadier-General William W. Averell's * division, with Colonel Benjamin F. Davis'† brigade of Brigadier-General Alfred Pleasanton's ‡ division, and Captain John C. Tidballs' light battery "A," Second U. S. Artillery, was to go towards Culpepper.

Stoneman, with Brigadier-General David McM. Gregg's § division, including Brigadier-General John Buford's || Regular Reserve Cavalry Brigade, to which had been attached the Sixth Pennsylvania (cavalry) Lancers and Captain James M. Robertson's light battery "E," Second U. S. Artillery, was to go toward Stevensburg.

Pleasanton, with Brigadier-General Thomas C. Devin's second brigade of his division, consisting of the Sixth New York, Eighth and Seventeenth Pennsylvania regiments, and Company "L," First Michigan Cavalry, was to report to Major-General Henry W. Slocum, commanding the right wing, for the march from the Rappahannock to Chancellorsville.

The three corps had successfully crossed the river by 11 A.M. of the 29th, over a canvas pontoon bridge, ¶ laid by Captain Cyrus B. Comstock, with slight opposition by a small observing force. The Eleventh Corps, under Major-General Oliver O. Howard; the Seventeenth Pennsylvania Cavalry, under Colonel Josiah H. Kellogg, ** and the Twelfth Corps, under temporary command of Brigadier-General Alpheus S. Williams, with the Sixth New York Cavalry, Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan McVicar, at once marched for Germania, while the Fifth Corps, under Major-General George G. Meade, with the Eighth Pennsylvania Cavalry, Major Pennock Huey, and Company "L," First Michigan Cavalry, marched for Ely's Ford.

Pleasanton accompanied the advance of Slocum's column, and directed the operations of the Sixth New York Cavalry in its skirmishes, while

* Captain Third U. S. Cavalry. † Captain First U. S. Cavalry. ‡ Major Second U. S. Cavalry.
§ Captain Sixth U. S. Cavalry. || Major Inspector-General's Department, U. S. A.

¶ Very few citizens who have not served with an army in the field have an adequate idea of its impedimenta. On February 13, 1863, there were with the Army of the Potomac two bridge trains of forty-four boats, in charge of four companies of the Fifteenth New York Engineers, located about two miles from Falmouth, one-half mile west of the road from Falmouth to Stafford Court-House, and four miles from head-quarters of the army. To this train were attached 551 animals; two bridge trains of forty-four boats, in charge of six companies of the Fiftieth New York Engineers, in the same locality, with 591 animals. One train of thirty boats, mounted, but without teams, was on its way to a place on the right bank of Muddy Creek, about three miles from Seddon's place and two miles from head-quarters; one bridge train of twenty-two boats, without wagons or teams, and at Belle Plaine thirty boats afloat. A requisition had been made for 226 more animals. These wooden boats weighed 1,570 pounds each. The pontoon and trestle wagons had eight animals and two teamsters each; the other wagons six animals and one teamster each. The canvas pontoon boats laid by Captain Comstock at Kelly's Ford came afterward, twenty from Washington and sixty from New York, and weighed 640 pounds each. ** Captain First U. S. Artillery.

Colonel Devin directed the movements of the cavalry with the Fifth Corps. With so great rapidity was the movement made, that after the Fifth Corps had passed in rear of Richard's Ford, the enemy continued to picket it with his cavalry; and Devin, sending a squadron with Captain Alexander Moore, Aide-de-Camp to General Hooker, bearing dispatches to his chief, captured several officers and thirty-five men. Reaching Ely's Ford at 5 P.M., two squadrons of cavalry were sent over, which brushed away the small force guarding it. The cavalry was followed by Brigadier-General Charles Griffin's* First Division and Major-General Sykes' Second Division.

Under orders that no clothing should be removed, as it could not be expected we would be allowed to cross without opposition, the men arranged their cartridge-boxes, haversacks, knapsacks, blankets and valuables about their heads and necks and plunged into the cold water, which rapidly enveloped them, up to the breasts and chins of a large number. There were many ludicrous scenes, such as men bobbing about like tide-walkers, or barely touching bottom with their toes, as they struggled with the strong, swift current. Some were made short work of in their efforts for the mastery and swept away, to be picked up by the detachment of cavalry stationed below for that purpose. The music boys were carried over on the shoulders of tall, stalwart, good-natured men. It was a sight and experience not to be forgotten. After dark the river was lighted by large fires upon the banks. As my regiment—the Fourteenth Infantry—moved into the water about 9 P.M., the sight of the fires through the misty rain, blazing brightly beyond, cheered us forward. Out of the chilling water, we climbed the slippery hill-side, for to add to our discomfort it was then raining heavily, hunted fire-wood in the darkness, built fires, cooked suppers, pitched our little shelter-tents, dried clothes and shoes as best we could, and rolling up in blankets, feet to the fires, for a comfortless night, courted nature's sweet restorer. The men detailed for picket and guard duty were not *perfectly happy*, but too honorable and plucky to grumble. It happened to be their detail at an unfortunate time; that was all.

As General Slocum's command approached Germania Ford, two hundred of the enemy's engineers were engaged building a bridge for Major-General J. E. B. Stuart, who was preparing for a raid upon our army in the vicinity of Falmouth, and to facilitate communication between Culpepper and Lee's headquarters. The Sixth New York Cavalry dismounted and engaged them until the infantry arrived, when they were speedily dislodged and about one-half their number captured. Early on

* Captain Fifth U. S. Artillery.

the morning of the 30th, the three corps resumed their march toward Chancellorsville, the rallying-point designated by Hooker. Meade, having heard from Devin that he had driven the enemy's pickets about three miles on the road to United States Ford, and had encountered a brigade of infantry in line of battle, sent Sykes' Second Division to uncover the ford. The precipitancy of our advance took the Confederates completely by surprise, causing them to retire from the ford without a struggle, leaving a number of prisoners and yielding us undisputed possession of the important crossing.

Having heard, soon after he detached Sykes, that his cavalry had occupied Chancellorsville, after a slight skirmish with a small force of the enemy, Meade proceeded with Griffin's division to that place, where he arrived at 11 A.M., and was rejoined by Sykes about one o'clock. He directed Colonel Devin to send out all his cavalry—one-half on the turnpike or plank road, and the other on the Bank's Ford or river road. About 3 P.M. Devin reported he had pursued the enemy's pickets on the Bank's Ford road until he could see his line of battle; and from the wagons visible believed he was about to abandon the position. Meade directed Griffin to advance General James Barnes' First Brigade to support the cavalry, and if practicable, to drive in the infantry and uncover the ford. An hour later Griffin reported his brigade in the presence of a superior force and that it must have support if expected to maintain its position.

Meade now ascertained to his surprise, that the cavalry, instead of going down the Bank's Ford road, as reported and he had been led to believe, had gone down the *old turnpike*, which makes a *détour* at Chancellorsville, coming again to the turnpike or plank road in about five miles. Barnes' brigade had advanced on the turnpike or plank road about two miles, in the direction of Fredericksburg, when it met Mahone's and Poysey's brigades, very advantageously posted on a ridge, with breastworks flanked by artillery, commanding the road by which the advance was to be made. The Twenty-fifth New York Infantry, Colonel Charles A. Johnson, and the Eighteenth Massachusetts, Colonel Joseph Hayes, were deployed as skirmishers into the woods on the left and right of the road, and the rest of the brigade held in reserve. Meade sent the second brigade under Colonel James McQuade, of the Fourteenth New York Infantry, along the Bank's Ford road to support Barnes, who, having inspected the enemy's works, had sent for artillery, which could not be furnished.

General Slocum had by this time arrived upon the ground and assumed command, to whom was referred the question of supporting or withdrawing Griffin's brigades. Unfortunately, he decided to withdraw

them. The campaign previous to that time had been a grand success—conducted with energy, decision, and great rapidity of movement. From and after General Slocum's decision to withdraw the troops it was quite the reverse. United States Ford had been uncovered. It remained to uncover Bank's Ford and success was virtually assured. In his official report, dated May 17, 1863, Slocum makes no mention of the occurrence, but says: "The two corps (Eleventh and Twelfth), arrived at Chancellorsville at about 2 P.M., on the 30th. . . . The Major-General commanding the army arrived at Chancellorsville on Thursday evening, the 30th, and I then resumed command of the Twelfth Corps."

At the time Meade's dispositions and purposes were superseded by higher authority, there was no obstacle—certainly but a very slight obstacle—to our triumphant forward march; the uncovering of Bank's Ford and a victory to the Army of the Potomac; not without a battle, probably, as Lee was not the kind of a soldier to retire without it; but the battle would have been fought on most advantageous terms—terms the Army of the Potomac had sought, and in exact accordance with the plan of its commanding general. When the troops of the Fifth Corps were withdrawn on Thursday afternoon, the three corps, according to the monthly returns made on that day, had an aggregate of 44,661 men for duty. Hooker so states in his testimony before the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, but says:

"As the bulk of the latter"—the artillery—"did not march with the corps, and excluding heavy detachments left with the trains as well as regiments left behind for discharge, it is not probable that the whole force established at Chancellorsville exceeded 36,000 men."

Opposed to 36,000 men were Mahone's brigade of Virginians; Posey's brigade of Mississippians, and Brigadier-General A. R. Wright's brigade of Georgians, of Anderson's division, composed of six brigades. March 31, 1863, there were of that division 8,232 men present for duty, and on May, 31st, 7,440; so it is not probable the brigades opposed to us numbered more than 5,000 men. Slocum's instructions were:

"If your cavalry is well advanced from Chancellorsville, you will be able to ascertain whether or not the enemy is detaching forces from behind Fredericksburg to resist your advance. If not in any considerable force, the general desires that you will endeavor to advance at all hazards, securing a position on the plank road, and uncovering Bank's Ford, which is also defended by a brigade of rebel infantry and a battery. If the enemy should be greatly re-enforced, you will then select a strong position and compel him to attack you on your ground. You will have nearly 40,000 men, which is more than he can spare to send against you. Every incident of your advance you will communicate

to the general as soon as communication is established by the United States Ford. Two aides-de-camp are sent to report to you for the service. You are already advised of the operations going on below Fredericksburg."

In his official report, dated September 21, 1863, General Lee said :

"On the night of the 29th, General Anderson was directed to proceed toward Chancellorsville and dispose Wright's brigade, and the troops from the Bark Mill Ford to cover these roads. Arriving at Chancellorsville about midnight, he found the commands of Generals Mahone and Posey already there, having been withdrawn from the Bark Mill Ford, with the exception of a small guard. Learning that the enemy had crossed the Rapidan and were approaching in strong force, General Anderson retired early on the morning of the 30th to the intersection of the mine and plank roads, near Tabernacle Church, and began to intrench himself. The enemy's cavalry skirmished with his rear-guard as he left Chancellorsville, but, being vigorously repulsed by Mahone's brigade, offered no further opposition to his march. Mahone was placed on the old turnpike, Wright and Posey on the plank road.

"The enemy in our front near Fredericksburg continued inactive, and it was now apparent that the main attack would be made upon our flank and rear. It was therefore determined to leave sufficient troops to hold our lines, and with the main body of the army to give battle to the approaching column. Early's division of Jackson's corps, and Barksdale's brigade of McLaw's division, with part of the reserve artillery, under General (W. N.) Pendleton, were intrusted with the defence of our position at Fredericksburg, and at midnight on the 30th, General McLaw's marched with the rest of his command toward Chancellorsville. General Jackson followed at dawn next morning with the remaining divisions of his corps. He reached the position occupied by General Anderson at 8 A.M., and immediately began preparations to advance."

Had General Slocum moved forward on Thursday afternoon he could easily have uncovered Bank's Ford and occupied the hills upon which Lee had neglected to construct redoubts; thus enfilading his line. The delay at Chancellorsville, from 2 P.M. on the 30th until nearly noon of May 1st, was as fatal to the campaign as anything that occurred afterward.

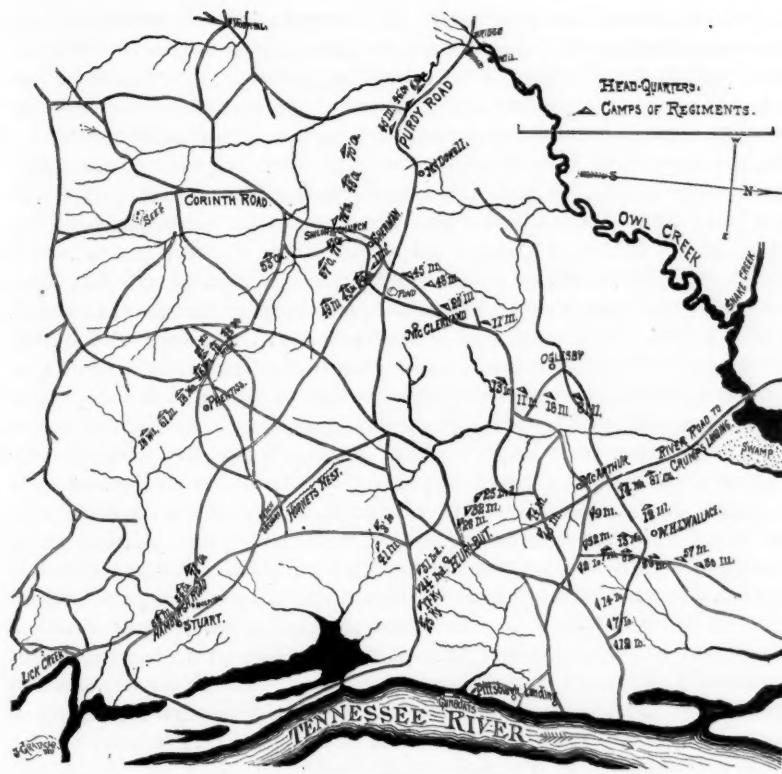
John Howard Mills.

SHILOH

THE FIRST DAY'S BATTLE: APRIL 6

The dawn of a lovely spring morning was ushered in by a conflict between the pickets of General Prentiss and the skirmishers in the advance of the Confederate Army, under General Albert Sidney Johnston, which was moving to the attack of the Federal forces at Shiloh. The ordinary picket force at the beginning promptly strengthened, checked the advance on the front of Prentiss, and held it about half a mile in front of his line of encampments until he could throw his whole division, consisting of only seven regiments, forward to the improvised line. Before 6.30 A.M. the troops of Prentiss were all engaged, and he had sent to the 2d and 4th divisions (encamped near the river) for assistance.

The first line of battle of Prentiss had no inherent strength of position —was without a reserve, was unsupported on the flanks, and was, of course, turned as soon as the columns of the enemy could be developed. When that occurred, the division fell back and attempted to make a stand on the line of the camps. Being engaged in a fight without the co-operation of other troops, and again outflanked, the regiments fell back, and were of necessity thrown into confusion in retiring through their own camps. This time the disorder was not corrected until after the confused mass had drifted through the lines of the two brigades of the 4th division, then on the way from their camps toward the sound of battle. General Hurlbut, commanding the 4th division, on meeting the retiring troops of Prentiss, at once went into a position which, after some modification, happened to have strength, and was almost immediately attacked by the always advancing enemy. Prentiss, meanwhile, by energy and great personal magnetism, had rallied some 3,000 of his men, and formed them on the right of the 4th division. This was done at about 9 o'clock A.M. The 2d division, under General W. H. L. Wallace, leaving its camps about the same hour and moving in the direction of Prentiss' camps, was forced by the enemy to come into position near the line already taken by Hurlbut and Prentiss, and by throwing one regiment, the 8th Iowa, to the left of his division Wallace filled the gap between his command and the remnant of the 6th division (Prentiss'), and thus three division commanders fortuitously found themselves in a position so strong as to win for it



SHILOH BATTLEFIELD. 6TH OF APRIL.

from the enemy the name of the "Hornet's Nest." Its right and center were on a line of hills in the woods, and in a portion of the front was a dense growth of underbrush, making a natural abatis. On the left was a clearing, over which the enemy had to march against troops stationed in the woods. The position thus taken, as will hereafter be seen, exerted unparalleled influence upon the ultimate result. As it was firmly held for several hours, we can now pass to other points of the field. The resistance made by Prentiss on his picket line retarded the attack of Cleburne upon Sherman's front, the salient point of which was the 53d Ohio regiment, under Appler, encamped in a clearing some 1,200 feet in front of the left of Sherman's main line. Sherman says that early on the 6th the enemy drove in his advance guard, when he ordered the division under arms, and sent to

McClernd *asking* him to support his (unprotected) left and to Prentiss (who had already been engaged since daylight) giving him notice that the enemy was in force in front, and to Hurlbut *asking* him to support Prentiss. Of the nine regiments under Sherman's immediate command that morning, eight were encamped behind a branch of Owl Creek, and at a distance from it of from 500 to 1,200 feet. One brigade of three regiments was on the extreme right watching the bridge over Owl Creek on a road from Corinth and Purdy; five regiments were encamped on a line across the more direct road leading from Corinth at the Shiloh Church, and the ninth, as before stated, was in front of the left flank and *across* the branch of Owl Creek. This regiment had another branch of Owl Creek, about 1,200 feet in its front, which was lined with bushes affording a cover to the enemy; and a branch road led from the main Corinth road to the rear of the camp, and line of battle of the regiment. Sherman says about 8 o'clock A.M. all the regiments of his division "were in line of battle at their proper posts." That is to say, they were directly in front of their camps, where they could not maneuver to the rear without falling into confusion, and where, later on, the wagons blocked the road and delayed the 1st brigade in its effort to take up a new position under Sherman's orders. On visiting his lines before his troops were seriously engaged, Sherman gave orders to Colonel Appler, commanding the isolated regiment on his left front, to "hold his position at all hazards—that he had a good battery on his right, and a strong support to his rear." Of these strong supports General McClernd says: "Before my left, consisting of the 3d brigade, could form for the support of General Sherman the enemy had pierced Prentiss' line;" that is, had passed through the space between Sherman and Prentiss which was never occupied, ". . . and rapidly forcing back Sherman's left wing was pressing upon my left with a mass five regiments deep. . . . I ordered the 3d brigade to form in line of battle fronting the enemy's advance, nearly *at a right angle* with Sherman's line. . . . While the line was being formed, information was brought that the enemy were advancing in line of battle in strong force to the left of the brigade." The brigade commander ordered a charge which, though successful in front, left the flanks exposed and compelled the brigade to retire about 300 yards where it formed a junction, in front of McClernd's headquarters, with the other two brigades of the division, and the contest was continued for some time.

To return to Sherman's line. Sherman reports that "about 9 o'clock A.M. Appler's regiment broke in disorder, soon followed by fugitives from Mungen's regiment (57th Ohio) and the enemy pressed forward on Water-

house's battery, thereby exposed."* The falling back of the 3d brigade of the 1st division (McClernd's) soon brought the enemy upon Sherman's left and rear, and he gave orders for his command to retire to the "Purdy and Hamburg road, taking that for a new line."

Colonel McDowell commanding 1st brigade says this was accomplished with difficulty partly because *the trains of the brigade occupied the only passable road*. The colonel commanding the 4th brigade reports that in making this change the brigade was practically broken up "by the fleeing mass from the left" and out of the fight for the day, a part of one regiment joining McClernd's command and the colonel commanding, with the remaining colonel, having "very poor success" in his efforts to rally the men. The move of Sherman to the Purdy and Hamburg road brought his command (now consisting of one brigade) once more in connection with the line McClernd had established in front of his headquarters, and at this time we have upon the field two division commanders acting in concert on the right, parts of three divisions fighting in like manner in the center, one isolated brigade on the extreme left, and a second independent brigade, to be hereafter noticed, near McClernd's line. The time, according to Sherman, about 10.30. No two divisions, however, have as yet moved under the orders of a superior officer, and the fighting thus far has been due to no military knowledge in a leader but to the courage of the officers and men who held to their ranks and their colors.

We must now follow the fortunes of the two independent brigades which are struggling to do their best in this headless battle. The first is the 2d brigade of the 4th (Hurlbut's) division. A message came from Sherman early in the morning (about 7.30) that he was attacked heavily on his left, and Hurlbut ordered the 2d brigade under Veatch to march to Sherman's assistance. The colonel took his command promptly to the front and formed a line on the left of the first position of the 3d brigade of McClernd's division, having at that time the left of Sherman's troops in his front (at an oblique line), which were just becoming engaged. Very

* According to the report of the lieutenant colonel of the regiment two assaults of the enemy were repulsed before the regiment fell back. From the reports of General Cleburne it is seen that two regiments of his command were very badly cut up in assaults on some troops, the position of which can only be made by me to correspond to that of Appler's regiment. General Cleburne states that he did not drive the regiment back until he had turned its right flank. The position of the regiment was untenable at the outset, both flanks unprotected, and a stream behind it. Under the circumstances it held the position longer than could have been expected. When it broke it passed around the left of McClernd's line, carrying away some of his troops. The colonel commanding the brigade states that the two remaining regiments (57th and 77th Ohio) fought side by side for four hours against heavy odds.

soon the troops in the front line were thrown into confusion, and broke through the right of Veatch's command, carrying with them a portion of the troops belonging to McClerland.* Veatch's right regiment, after a contest in which it lost all its field officers, fell back, which at once exposed the next regiment on the right, and that was also thrown into confusion by the breaking of more troops from the front line (Sherman's 3d brigade), but was soon rallied by its gallant colonel (Davis) and fought until overpowered and borne back. The enemy then attacked the two remaining regiments of the brigade. These were well handled and for some time maneuvered fighting, thus keeping their flanks from being turned, and finally fell back to prevent being surrounded by a superior force. The first two regiments brought up in McClerland's command remained fighting. Colonel Veatch succeeded in getting the last two back, when they there joined the left of McClerland's line and remained with his command till the enemy turned the left flank of the army, and then the colonel fell back to the siege guns covering the Landing. The fight of the colonel throughout the day was entirely independent. The next independent fight to be recorded is that of the detached brigade of Sherman's division which was stationed to watch a ford at Lick Creek where a road crossed from Hamburg, a town on the Tennessee River three miles above Pittsburg Landing. Colonel Stuart, commanding this brigade, reports that before 8 A.M. he saw the enemy advancing *in rear* of Prentiss' headquarters, and sent the information to Hurlbut, commanding 4th division, and asked him to advance his forces. The colonel then formed his line of battle across the Hamburg road. Here he soon found himself with one regiment gone to the rear without orders, and the two remaining regiments, numbering about 800 men all told, engaged in front, and a large force moving to his right and rear.

This remnant of a brigade fell back to a hill behind a ravine, where he says he held the enemy at bay for two hours until his ammunition was exhausted, even to that in the boxes of the killed and wounded in his line. From this cause another retrograde movement began, which finally brought the brigade near the batteries at the Landing, where the command was halted by a staff officer of General Grant, with information that ammunition would be sent to them. This must have been between 2.30 and 3 P.M. General Grant soon after came up and ordered the brigade *to form a line near the batteries.*

Sherman, at 10.30 A.M., was on his new line along the Purdy and Hamburg road with McClerland on his left on a line running in front of Mc-

* Probably Appler's regiment.

Clernard's headquarters. The fighting here was severe for several hours. Sherman says during this part of the day two Iowa regiments came up from the rear, "but could not be brought up to the severe fire then raging." Two Iowa regiments, the 15th and 16th, landed from the transports after the battle had opened and were marched to the front. The regiments had never even loaded their muksets. They were pitchforked into some position by some raw staff officer, where it is probable the value of their services was not represented by their losses. The 15th lost in killed, wounded, and missing, 185, while the casualties of the 16th were 131, both colonels being among the wounded. No State in our whole country, from Maine to Texas, has a better record than that made for Iowa by its magnificent troops.

McClernd was finally driven from his position back to the camp of the 1st brigade,* thence across a ravine behind that point, where a good stand was made, and some good fighting done. Again outflanked, he moved to the road from Crump's Landing to Hamburg, where, at 4.30 P.M., the final assault and repulse on that part of the line were made.†

In looking over the day's work done by the 1st and 5th divisions, we find them heavily handicapped at the beginning of the battle by the thoroughly false line they were then obliged to take up. After freeing themselves from the consequences of that and coming together in line of battle, the fighting under the direction of the division commanders—deriving no orders from a common superior—was intelligent and severe. When forced back by superior numbers the men took up new positions always with crumbling of stragglers, but without demoralization on the part of those who remained by their colors. Always ready to take advantage of the repulse of an attack of the enemy, and assume the offensive, they re-occupied several times ground they had lost. Sometimes together, and at other times separated, the commands were united in the final attack on them at 4.30 P.M., and the troops had reason to be proud of their own conduct and the skill of their commanders. Their military organizations had been seriously damaged, if not destroyed, but at the last there was still a line of battle, held by brave men, commanded by indomitable officers.

The divisions of W. H. L. Wallace, Prentiss, and Hurlbut were, about

* Ogleby's on the map.

† General Sherman says that General Grant was with him about 3 P.M. ; "but about 4 P.M. it was evident that Hurlbut's line had been driven back to the river and, knowing that General Wallace was coming from Crump's Landing with reinforcements, General McClernd and I on consultation selected a new line of defense with its right covering the bridge by which General Wallace had to approach."

9.30 A.M., as we have seen, in a strong position, and the enemy advancing to the assault. As the assaulting columns came up, they were received with a murderous fire which time and again sent them back in disorder. The best troops of the Confederate Army made the effort only to recoil from the terrible fire of the men who, feeling the strength of their position, took deliberate aim and did not throw away their shots. Bragg, after having, as he says, lost several hours in the vain endeavor to break this line, went to his right to try to turn the position he could not carry by assault. This was easily done, for but two small regiments covered the space between Hurlbut's left flank and the river, and they were soon maneuvered back to the siege guns. About 3 P.M. Hurlbut, finding no friendly support on his left and the enemy threatening that flank, and having no one to look to for orders, took counsel with himself and fell back, as he says, quietly and steadily *through* his camps, and to the rear of the siege guns at the Landing, where General Grant directed him to take "command of all the troops that came up." At the hour of 4.30 P.M. the 1st, 4th, and 5th divisions, with the army of stragglers, were all within the space bounded by the "River Road" over Snake Creek and the road from the Landing to Purdy. General Lew Wallace marched his division, about dark, across the Snake Creek bridge, and bivouacked in line of battle, thus giving some consistency to our right flank. At the hour of 4.30 there were two Confederate brigades across Dill's Branch, a short stream which runs into the Tennessee River nearly half a mile above the Landing. Its steep sides make a formidable obstacle, and it was an extraordinary oversight that its left bank was not held by some of the troops crowded at the Landing. Of those two Confederate brigades, however, one had no ammunition, and the other found the batteries in front too powerful to attack, and their companions in arms, who would have given them the support they required, were still back at the "Hornet's Nest."

After Hurlbut had withdrawn from the left, Prentiss made such dispositions as he could to protect his left flank, and then had a consultation with W. H. L. Wallace. They knew that of that magnificent army which at dawn stood equal to if not superior in numbers to the troops they had expected to attack at Corinth, these two worn-out remnants of divisions under them represented all of the army not at the last fighting line, and looking into the Tennessee River. They did not know that assistance from the Army of the Ohio was so near. They were not soldiers by education, yet instinctively felt that it was of vital importance to the army that they should "hold their position at all hazards," and agreed to stand by each other to the last. They could depend on their men, and so they fought on. They

fought till Wallace and Prentiss stood back to back ; they fought until the Confederates battling against Wallace were firing into the Confederates fighting Prentiss. The contest did not close until after they were surrounded. At six o'clock Prentiss gave up his sword and Wallace his life, but the Army of the Tennessee was saved, for at five o'clock the head of the column of the Army of the Ohio, led by Colonel Jacob Ammen, of Nelson's division, marched up the bank at Pittsburg Landing and took its position in the road under the fire of Confederate artillery, and presented its strong front to the two Confederate brigades then looking down upon the Landing.

The instinct or genius to decide that self-sacrifice was necessary, and the courage and patriotism to make the sacrifice, were found in the commanders of the 2d and 4th divisions, and their story should be told throughout the length and breadth of our land.

In looking over the first day's battle on the field of Shiloh, as drawn from the official papers, it must be manifest, even to the reader least conversant with military positions, that at 4.30 P.M. of the 6th of April a grave disaster had happened, and capture was impending over the Federal Army, then crowded on the bank of the Tennessee River at Pittsburg Landing.

I propose in a few words to express my own opinions of the causes which led to such a perilous condition.

The first cause was that, resting in fancied security as to the danger of an attack, and not taking into consideration the fact that Buell's march to join Grant made an attack probable before the junction was effected, the Federal general laid out no fighting line on his front, and prepared no defenses ; he did not use the ordinary precautions of one who thinks there is a possibility of his being thrown upon the defensive. Second, no instructions had been given to any of the division commanders as to where they should go or what they should do in the event of an alarm. Third, the fighting lines assumed by Sherman and Prentiss were faulty, as they were practically the lines of their encampments, which interfered seriously with any maneuvering. Sherman, McClernand, and Prentiss were all driven through their own camps. Fourth, no connected line was formed, and thus *every retrograde movement* made during the day by any organized body of Federal troops, so far as I can learn from close study, was induced by a turning of one or both flanks. The difference in the numbers of the two armies was not, perhaps, of importance, yet the tactical conditions which existed would show the greater numbers of Confederate troops massed at important points. Under a military axiom such conditions show good generalship on one side, or on the other side the reverse. Fifth, there was no

reserve on any line established by the Federal troops during the entire day. Sixth, it would seem that after the strength of the position at the "Hornet's Nest" had been established, it was then in the power of the commanding general to reduce some four or five independent battles then in progress to one by concentrating on a short line through the "Hornet's Nest," which should have military strength, and cover the Landing. The map seems to show such lines.

In looking at the battle as fought by the Confederate generals, it is, perhaps, not too much to say that, had the plan of constantly turning the left flank of troops opposed to them been steadily adhered to, and avoiding continued assaults on strong positions, the tendency of which was to drive the Federal Army to concentration on a shorter line, much time and strength would have been saved.

It seems reasonable to suppose that with such a plan kept steadily in view, the divisions of McClernand and Sherman should have been driven into a *cul-de-sac*, with their backs to Owl Creek, the divisions of W. H. L. Wallace, Prentiss, and Hurlbut cut off from the Tennessee River, and a strong body of the Confederate forces, comparatively fresh, as near the Landing at noon as they were at 4.30 P.M. Such a condition of affairs would have prevented the junction of Lew Wallace's division with the army, and also the landing of any of Buell's troops.

The battle of the 6th of April was a desperate fight, and placed the American volunteer at once in the front rank of the fighting material of the world. Knowledge and discipline could only come later.

A handwritten signature in cursive ink, appearing to read "W. Harrar Smith".

OUR FIRST BATTLE

BULL PASTURE MOUNTAIN

Major-General Frémont assumed command of the Mountain Department on the 29th day of March, 1862, at Wheeling, West Virginia, relieving Brigadier-General Rosecrans. The new department comprised the following territorial divisions: District of the Cumberland, containing all territory east of the Alleghanies and west of the Department of the Potomac, commanded by Brigadier-General R. C. Schenck; the Cheat Mountain District, comprising all west of the Alleghanies, south of the railroad lines, north of the Valley of the Gauley, and east of the Weston and Summersville road, commanded by Brigadier-General R. H. Milroy; the Railroad District, comprising all north and west of the railroad lines, commanded by Brigadier-General B. F. Kelly; the District of the Kanawha, comprising all the valleys of the Kanawha and Guyandotte rivers and the mouth of the Big Sandy, commanded by Brigadier-General J. D. Cox; the districts of the Big Sandy-Valley and Gap, commanded respectively by Colonels Garfield and Carter.

Contemplating this interesting field, General Frémont laid out for himself a far-reaching and somewhat dazzling plan of operations. After collecting his forces, he proposed to move up the South Branch Valley, cross the mountains to Staunton, march thence, in conjunction with Banks, against the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad at Salem, establish a new base at Gauley, call forward General Cox to Newberne, and then, having "destroyed the connection between Knoxville and the [Confederate] army in Eastern Virginia, and perhaps seized some rolling stock, advance rapidly up the railroad toward Knoxville, turning the [Confederate] position at Cumberland Gap." After taking Knoxville, Frémont proposed to establish "a third base of operations" at Nicholasville, and thus place his army "in a position to co-operate in any way in the general plan of operations for the prosecution of the war."

This ambitious and glowing scheme was approved at Washington, but with a final modification which contemplated the ultimate closing in of Frémont's columns toward Richmond rather than at Knoxville. To carry out these designs Frémont had, according to his own estimate, 19,000 effective men. To this force should be added the "German Division," about 8,000 strong, under Brigadier-General Blenker, which was to be transferred from

the Army of the Potomac, and assigned to Frémont's command. General Milroy had passed the winter at Monterey—a mountain station near the head-waters of the South Branch of the Potomac—and he had with him there about 3,500 men. General Schenck's force—to which the Eighty-second Ohio regiment, with which the writer was identified, was attached—was concentrated at Moorefield, in the South Branch Valley, and numbered about 3,000. Blenker's division quitted its camps at Fairfax Court House for its new field of operations early in April, but was fully a month in reaching its destination. Blenker was unfamiliar with the country, became confused with his maps, and seems to have lost his way. Though the weather was very inclement, his men marched without tents or other sufficient camp equipage, and were constantly exposed to snow and rain. On the 15th the division crossed the swollen Shenandoah at Berry's Ferry, in boats, one of which was swamped, drowning sixty men. To prevent further mishaps, and accelerate the movement of Blenker's command, the Secretary of War directed Rosecrans to hunt it up, take temporary charge of it and conduct it over the mountains.

The division was in a most wretched state of discipline and equipment. Many of the regiments were armed with old-fashioned smooth-bore muskets, and the whole command was deficient in necessary wagon transportation. The men suffered greatly for want of shoes, blankets and over-coats, and also for want of food. Many were sick by reason of exposure and privation and the number increased daily. The animals in the trains were in a starved condition, and fresh horses had to be procured before the batteries could be moved from Martinsburg. The division reached Petersburg on the 9th of May, but in an exceedingly unfit condition for active service.

Early in April, General Milroy, after routing a Confederate force which attacked him near Monterey, pushed across the mountains to McDowell. About the same time General Cox, in pursuance of Frémont's orders, moved in the direction of Lewisburg and Peterstown. Concurrently with these operations, General Schenck was directed to advance toward Franklin, so as to join Milroy, and co-operate with Banks in the Shenandoah Valley.

Owing to the bad condition of the roads, Schenck's forces at Moorefield did not break camp until the 25th of April, on which date they moved up the South Branch to Petersburg. Here the river, swollen by the rain, and very swift, was found to be three feet deep at its shallowest point, making it necessary to construct a temporary foot-bridge for the infantry, which was done with farm wagons, ballasted down with stones. The

artillery and cavalry managed to get over by fording. The movement was resumed on the 3d of May. Above Petersburg, the road, at best a primitive one, barely practicable for artillery and wagon trains, grew worse and worse as the column proceeded up the river, and penetrated the mountainous country from which the South Branch issues. The few people who dwelt in these elevated districts seemed to be as heartily and universally loyal as those in the lower valley had been unfriendly and rebellious, and they welcomed Schenck's soldiers with every demonstration of joy. They were generally poor, as was the soil they cultivated, and of course there were very few slave-holders among them. As the column neared Franklin, on the 5th, a courier arrived from Milroy with the news that Jackson, anticipating Frémont's advance, was coming over the range to meet him.

"There's work ahead, boys!" said Colonel Cantwell, of the Eighty-second Ohio, as he rubbed his mustache in a manner peculiar to him. The brave colonel knew from his own previous experience what "work ahead" meant, but there were few of his "boys" who, as yet, had ever heard so much as a picket-shot fired at an enemy. They were quite ready for the "work," however, and rather eager for it, although the colonel's manner did not indicate that he thought it was going to be in the nature of amusement. At Franklin, an old weather-beaten hamlet in a gorge of the mountains, a temporary supply depot was established, and on the 7th the column pushed on, through a rough and thinly settled country, toward Staunton. On the 8th, at 10 A.M., the command, having marched most of the night, arrived at McDowell, a village on the Staunton Turnpike, thirty-four miles south-west of Franklin. The village lies at the foot of Bull Pasture Mountain, on the upper slopes of which were descried (for the first time by Cantwell's men) the gray battalions of the Southern Confederacy. The Confederates in sight were the brigades of Edward Johnson's Division which were moving into position and forming a line sheltered by rocks and trees, and fronted by clearings extending well down the mountain.

Jackson had present with him, and near at hand, his own and Johnson's divisions, numbering in all about 10,000 men. Defeated (March 23) by Shields at Kernstown, and then pursued by Banks up the Valley to Harrisonburg, he had been re-enforced by Ewell's division from Gordonsville. Leaving that division to hold Banks in check, he had now turned to intercept and overwhelm Frémont's advance before it could arrive within reaching distance of our forces in the valley. Milroy had arrived at McDowell some days before, and had thrown forward part of his force beyond Shaw's Ridge, in the direction of Staunton. This force had fallen

back upon the main body, which was preparing to resist Jackson's further progress. Schenck, who was the ranking officer, had brought with him about 1,300 infantry, a battalion of Connecticut Cavalry, and De Beck's Ohio Battery. He saw, at once, that our position at McDowell was not tenable, but after consultation with Milroy, he resolved to put a bold face on matters, and assail the enemy. Under cover of this attack he proposed to get all the wagon-trains well out of the way, with a view to withdrawing, during the night, his entire force from its perilous position. About the middle of the afternoon the Third Virginia, and the Twenty-fifth, Thirty-second, Seventy-fifth and Eighty-second Ohio regiments moved to the attack, the Twenty-fifth and Seventy-fifth holding the right, the Thirty-second and Eighty-second the left, and the Third Virginia, moving by the turnpike, the center. Passing beyond the village, the Eighty-second crossed the Bull Pasture River and ascended a steep, timbered bluff, known as Hull's Ridge, where there was neither road nor path. A six-pounder of Johnson's Battery was dragged up after the regiment by hand, and directly opened fire with considerable effect from the summit, from whence the enemy's position, though in plain view, could not be reached by musketry. Intervening between ourselves (the Eighty-second Ohio) and Bull Pasture Mountain (the cleared part of which was known as Setlingen's Hill), lay a deep valley, along which the turnpike mounted the Shenandoah range. To get at our antagonists it was necessary to descend to the bottom of this valley, and climb the heights on its opposite side. Colonel Cantwell, therefore, started his men on the "double-quick" down the mountain, himself leading them on foot. The entire movement had to be executed in full view of the enemy, and it quickly brought us within range of his musketry. With a great shout the regiment rushed down to the turnpike, reaching which, the men scarcely stopped to take breath, before they began clambering up the steep slope of Bull Pasture Mountain.

And now the crash of their Enfields began to resound through the gorge! And, in spite of all the battles which have since intervened, how the bang of those muskets reverberates even yet in the living ears that heard them! The enemy's bullets, fired down the mountains, flew over us in myriads, but were not heeded. The Confederate fire seemed only to add to the exhilaration and *elan* of our charge. Up through the slanting meadows went the blue lines, with colors flying and Enfields crashing! No flinching! forward! Some soldiers fall, and lie motionless upon the grass, but there is no time to pay any attention to that! On the right the Twenty-fifth, Seventy-fifth and Thirty-second Ohio come up in splendid

style, their muskets crashing too! Up, still up go the steady lines, until they arrive within short range of the Confederates. The action is so violent all along the front that Jackson hurries up his reserves. Our men want to go at the enemy with the bayonet, and some of them even make a rush for that purpose, but are called back. It is not deemed prudent to advance the line farther against such superior odds, but the fight goes on unabated until the sun sets, and darkness hides the combatants from each other.*

Happening to look to the rear, I saw some men lying on the grass. My first impression was that they had lain down to avoid being hit.† But they were motionless. The truth flashed over me—they were dead! I had scarcely noticed, before, that anybody had been hurt, except that a bullet had struck the musket of a man next me, and glancing had wounded him in the wrist.

As darkness came on the firing slackened, and at length ceased. The troops were then recalled. The wounded had all been carried to the rear, but there lay the dead, and it seemed too bad to leave them behind. So two of us picked up one of the bodies, and endeavored to bear it away with the retreating line. But we had not realized until then how fatigued we were! The slain soldier was a young German, who had received a bullet full in the forehead. We laid him down gently by the stump of a tree, with his face upturned to the moonlight, and there we left him. A few minutes later I found myself trying to quench, in a muddy pool at the turnpike, the fever and thirst begotten of the extraordinary exertion and excitement.

"Men, remember that you are from Ohio!" had been General Schenck's admonition prior to the battle. We did not forget it. Jackson telegraphed to Richmond: "God blessed our arms with victory at McDowell yesterday." He would not have coveted many such victories. His loss afterward admitted was 71 killed and 390 wounded. Our total loss was 256. The enemy did not pursue. He did not even seem to anticipate our re-

* The battle raged with terrific violence from about 4.30 to 8.30 P.M.—*Report of Confederate General Edward Johnson.*

† Part of the Confederate troops appear to have resorted to this method of avoiding the effects of our fire. Colonel W. C. Scott, of the Forty-fourth Virginia regiment, who commanded one of Johnson's brigades, says in his report: "In firing, the front rank of my right flank, after delivering its fire, would retire some three or four paces to the rear, and lie down and load, and, as they were shielded from danger while loading, I allowed this system to continue. . . . But observing that some men retired farther to the rear than necessary, and were lying on their faces and taking no part in the battle, I attempted to rouse them by words, but finding that neither harsh words nor threats were of any avail, I commenced riding over them, which soon made them join the line of battle."

treat.* Returning to the village, our troops halted unmolested for supper and brief rest. Leaving their camp-fires burning, they then set forth, preceded by the artillery and trains, on the road toward Franklin. The wounded who could hobble along did so, and those who could not were carried in the ambulances. We marched all right, stopping seldom, and on the 10th the column arrived again at Franklin. Halting in the valley above the town the troops, half dead with fatigue and loss of sleep, stacked their arms, and lay down to rest. Suddenly a great cheer was heard in the direction of the town, and a horseman was seen galloping up the valley, and swinging his hat. One regiment after another took up the cry as he passed it, and as he approached ours we heard him shouting at the top of his voice;

"The *Monitor* has sunk the *Merrimac*! Hurrah!"

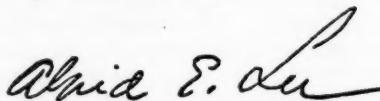
We had scarcely digested this welcome information when the enemy's cavalry appeared up the valley, and the troops were hurried into position covering the approaches to the town. Then came more news:

"General Frémont is coming, with Blenker's Division!"

Verily we had fallen upon eventful times! The *Merrimac* sunk, Blenker coming, and the Confederate cavalry bearing down upon us! However, the enemy, having arrived within hearing of the racket caused by the *Merrimac* news, seemed to be intimidated by "the thunder of the captains and the shouting." His squadrons displayed themselves very handsomely, with arms glittering and banners flying, but for the time-being they kept at a respectful distance. A few shots from our batteries made the distance still more respectful.

Blenker's Division came up according to announcement. At the same time Jackson's cavalry, with infantry supports, began to feel Frémont's lines, and for a few hours brisk skirmishing ensued. Meanwhile the woods on the mountains took fire from the musketry, or the camp-fires of the combatants, and at night the contour of the peaks and ridges was outlined against the sky in lambent flame.

On the 14th Jackson withdrew all his forces from Frémont's front, and rapidly disappeared again beyond the Shenandoah Mountain. We were destined to renew his acquaintance, however, further along.



* Early the next morning Jackson rode to the front, expecting to renew the battle. He had made arrangements for sending a force across the mountains to our rear, and no doubt would have been glad to find us still at McDowell.

A POEM

IN RESPONSE TO THE TOAST

"OUR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE ; MAY IT EXIST FOREVER "

Delivered at the meeting of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati, at Delmonico's, Monday evening, February 22, 1886.

Once more we gather at the board with banner of our fame,
And bring the garlands of our love in memory of a *name* ;
A *name* so proudly borne by time, that, as the years depart,
It still remains the first in war, in peace, and in the heart.

'Tis fitting that we thus should meet in celebration here ;
Our lineage is beyond reproach ; we read our title clear ;
The Cincinnati's pedigree began when peace was young,
When War had smoothed his wrinkled front, and Freedom's bell was rung

What need to tell again the tale of those eventful years ?
A story that perforse was writ in human blood and tears.
What need to fight those battles o'er of victory and defeat ?
And all that Iliad of strife in numbers here repeat ?

Enough, that through it all *he* moved, the master and the guide ;
Unfaltering courage, patience, faith were his, however tried ;
Not even dark mistrust could change his spirit or his zeal,
Till Yorktown's gates were open flung before the allied steel !

And when the dove of peace had come with healing on her wing,
Still looked the people up to him—their President, not king ;
And Washington's immortal name is all the more adored,
Because he was as great a chief when he had sheathed the sword.

Thus out of war and sacrifice our Independence came,
A flickering light it was at first, but now a steady flame ;
And art has symbolized its truth by raising fair and free
A figure with uplifted torch for all the world to see !

And may it shine forever, is our sentiment to-night :
That is the charge for us to keep, but only with the right.
The heritage our fathers left can only be retained
By stewards worthy of the trust, so precious and so gained.

Examples proudly cluster for the teaching of this age ;
 Long is the line of patriot names embalmed in history's page ;
 No country from its trophied past, no land beneath the sun,
 Can call a more illustrious roll in Freedom's Pantheon.

We look back over twenty years to where the Statesman stands,
 And see the tossing Ship of State obey his guiding hands :
 No greater price for liberty a people ever gave
 Than when they yielded Lincoln's form to fill a martyr's grave.

Last summer to eternal rest a hero's corse was borne ;
 'Twas time, when that great soldier died, for liberty to mourn ;
 For he had stood beside her shrine and all her foes defied ;
 The foes that learned to know his heart—they met at Riverside !

A grateful country on that mound its sacred vigil keeps ;
 The anthem of the river sighs where painlessly he sleeps ;
 The seasons come and go, the stars look down upon his rest ;
 And pilgrim feet will make that spot the Mecca of the West !

And still again our ears have heard the solemn funeral chants ;
 Another gallant warrior sleeps in "glory's marble trance."
 It seems not long since he was here, our festival to grace,
 And now the Nation's looked its last on Hancock's martial face.

But though the sorrows of this world come often thick and fast,
 The blessings of adversity reveal themselves at last ;
 And from the record of great lives that now have passed away,
 An inspiration surely flows and gilds the darkest day.

So, with our living countrymen, and all that memory gives,
 We may to-night feel well assured that Independence lives ;
 And as we think of those whose minds our destinies have led,
 We turn with reverence and with love to greet our honored head.*

Then let us ask, while here we meet to pass fraternal hours,
 What would yon banner be to us if Freedom were not ours ?
 Nay, let us hope, where'er that flag may float o'er land and sea,
 Its stars and stripes may ever wave, the symbol of the free !



* Hon. Hamilton Fish.

MINOR TOPICS

A "JAUNT" TO PHILADELPHIA IN 1762

BY A DAUGHTER OF JAMES ALEXANDER

So graphically have the trials and sufferings of the Colonists been described (commencing with Mrs. Heman's "Breaking Waves" down to the pitiful condition of the soldiers at Valley Forge, with no suitable clothing to protect them from the winter's storm), that it is pleasant occasionally to find a silver lining to the dark picture. Old diaries and letters are found in unexpected places, and indicate that colonial life was not entirely colorless. Some extracts from a journal written in June, 1762, by a daughter of James Alexander, describes a "jaunt," as she calls it, from New York to Philadelphia. Then, as now, the Philadelphia housewife delighted in preparing a bountiful and attractive table, and it is evident the writer fully appreciated it. There is little or no sentiment in the diary, so the antiquarian can have his facts without note or comment. The names of the families mentioned are doubtless familiar to all readers of that period of our history. C. L. R.

"Thursday 3rd June 1762. Left New York at 11, o'clock, got to Douglasses at Quarter past 12 and dined, crossed Staten Island, the weather pleasant, neither hot, cold, wet, or dusty. Got to Amboy at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5, saw nobody but Miss Skinner, set out $\frac{1}{2}$ before 7, & arrived at Brunswick $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8, slept, & sup'd at Duff's, a famous tavern, 3 large parlors, & dining room 36 feet long by 18 wide. The country thus far, but indifferent though thick settled. The town to the Raritan and neighboring country looked very pleasant. 4th Rose at 6, took a walk through the town; set out at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7, went to Rocky Hill farm, visited the copper mine, 8 men at work, drawing a level, sinking a new shaft, wages 6 £ 13. a month, got to Princeton $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11, the weather still pleasant, & country delightful, many beautiful & rich prospects, especially from the top of the college, which is well contrived, & under good management, 60 rooms, 120 closets, 100 windows in front, & above 100 students. After long waiting, got a good dinner, & the first green peas, proceeded $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 & reached Trenton at 5, met S^r John Clair who carried us forcibly to his house. The situation of Belmont charming, commanding a prospect of the Delaware up & down. The gardens large and laid out in fine taste, vast variety of trees, plants & flowers; a greenhouse 63 feet long with a room over the whole length except two small rooms for a bed, & study, a Pinery, ice-house, noble stables, & other conveniences. An agreeable and obliging family, left them with reluctance. 5th June, road to Bristol being mostly through one of Penn's uncultivated mauves was woody, the rest rich & well inhabited, from Frankfort

dusty for the first time, dined at Bristol. Tea at Halls, & arrived in Phil^a at 6 o'clock. 6th Sunday—we went to Gov^f Hamilton and Glenery, in the afternoon to St Peter's Church, was surprised and delighted with Mr Duché, eloquence that far exceeded anything I ever before heard. 7th Monday walked about the town—went to the State House a large and elegant building, & from the top a most commanding Prospect of all the Steeples, Squares and streets, & also of the adjacent country went to Mr Morris' gardens. Visitors Mrs Plumsted, Skinner, Mrs Stevens. Mr Inglis Mr Stevens, Mrs Gore. Mr M^c Aul every evening. 8th we went to Glenery dined on Turtle; numerous visitors Mrs & Miss Franks, Mrs & Miss Levi. Mrs C Stedman Miss Graeme, Mrs. Barclay, Francis, Miss Allen, Mrs Cluw Gov^f Hamilton &c &c. 9th At six went to market, which out does every thing to be conceived in Quantity, Variety, & Cheapness, everything is at least a third cheaper than at New York, more cherries & strawberries from Mr Allen & the Gov^f dined at Mr Plumsteds on Turtle, also an elegant dessert: sup'd at Mr Stevens. 10th In the morning, cherries & pine apples. (3 fine ones) dined at Mrs Swifts Tea at Schuylkill Ferry. Came home the five mile tour, the country flat, roads fine, and great number of little seats, & gardens that render it quite delightful, sup'd at Mr M^c Auls. 11th Went in a party of 12 dined at the Falls of Schuylkill, no luck at fishing. Visited Smith's folly, crossed over the hill to Germantown, road pleasant, & great numbers of seats, company sup'd at Elliot's. 13th Heard Mr. Duché preach an Excellent Discourse—trout at dinner. Went with Mr Cox to the Romish Chappel, an ordinary Building fine organ an indifferent altar, & mean congregation sup'd at E's. 15th At ten went to the Proprietor's Gardens—green house, fine gravel walks, variety of shrubs, plenty of oranges, lemons, & citrons; went to Gov^f Hamilton's was charmed with the situation, fine garden, statues, paintings, walks. House & all in good order, fishing house stands romantically in a wood over the Schuylkill on a projecting rock. A large company much at their ease, very sociable, various amusements. 17th At ten we went to Mr Graff miniature painter sat two long hours, saw a great many pictures, in general like, tho' flattered. In the afternoon went to Carpenter's Island, delighted with the road, & amazing fertility of that spot. About 1000 acres in fine order, 400 head of cattle in the fall, sometimes 1000. . . . Sunday, heard Mr Duché's farewell sermon which drew tears from most of the hearers. The matter, language, & delivery were equally & inexpressibly fine. After dinner went to M^t Airy, the road through Germantown horribly dusty, the country & prospect fine, but little done, & nothing with the least taste. At supper the Stevens, Mrs Skinner, Plumstead, Mr Kearney & Mr M^c Aul as usual. Monday left for home."

A PROFESSIONAL NUMISMATIST

REPLY TO A CRITICISM

Some anonymous correspondent, perhaps the author himself, has sent me advance sheets of an article on "The Glastonbury Penny," contributed to the *Canadian Antiquarian* by Mr. R. W. McLachlan. Mr. McLachlan objects to my statement in the October number of the *Magazine of American History*, that this copper, when I first called attention to it two years ago, simply "served as a text for an historical article published in an historical magazine." He is good enough to say that "the use of coins as texts for historical papers is highly to be commended," and "the use of one of old Avalon as a text for a history for [of?] the new, may be pardoned," but he insists that in this case the penny was "more than a text." It is "the title of the article," he says, as if a text were usually to be found at the end of a discourse and not at the beginning.

Now, it is true that the medal, with its inscription, *Pro Patria et Avalonia*, led me to a consideration of the circumstances of Lord Baltimore's attempt to plant a colony in the American Avalon; but it is also true that I should never have thought of publishing my speculations about the medal by themselves. The thirteen pages containing the result of a conscientious study of the contemporary records of Lord Baltimore's adventure, seemed perhaps worth printing; the four pages of conjecture about the copper, with its curious emblems and inscriptions, appeared to me quite unimportant, save as they served to awaken a fresh interest in a memorable passage of American history; and I invite Mr. McLachlan's attention again to the fact that the article was sent to an historical magazine, and not to a journal of numismatics. When he contradicts my statement of my own motives in writing the paper, he passes the limit of good manners. When he further represents me as claiming to be "an authority" on numismatics, he commits a graver offense. No such claim has been made.

Mr. McLachlan is the author of a catalogue of Canadian coins, which he has been publishing in installments for years. In July, 1884, he catalogued this Glastonbury copper among the coins of Newfoundland, "thinking," he says, "that it was possibly the issue of a religious order or society in the city of St. John's." If his catalogue is made up of conjectures like this, it is a work which must be consulted with caution. He has since discovered and duly acknowledged his error. He has found the piece described, he says, in one of the "ordinary books on coins," to wit, in Batty's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Copper Coinage of the British Empire*. It is pretty certain that Mr. McLachlan had never seen this "ordinary book" prior to January, 1885, for in an article printed at that time he misquotes the title, and besides, if he had been acquainted with the book, he would hardly have assigned a Glastonbury medal, there plainly described, to Newfoundland. He has seen it now, however, and finds that Mr. Batty places the piece among "Eng-

lish Tradesmen's Tokens of the Nineteenth Century." From this classification Mr. McLachlan infers that the Glastonbury token was issued in 1812, or about that time. It is incredible, but it is nevertheless true, that in the very article in which he records this discovery, Mr. McLachlan himself delivers the solemn judgment, that a collector "with some slight practical knowledge" could not have mistaken the location of a Glastonbury penny "by fifteen hundred miles."

Mr. McLachlan condemns himself too harshly. It is human to err, and he is not the first collector of coins who has missed the mark by "fifteen hundred miles" or more. In fact, the history of every science is a record of the gradual correction of errors. It was a professional numismatist who construed the words and characters, *Votis XXX Multis XXXX*, on certain Roman coins, to express a wish that the emperor might live thirty years, and forty years more! But everybody now knows that the inscription refers to the ten-years term of imperial power, and expresses a hope that the emperor, having served three terms, may graciously consent to serve for a fourth. It was a professional numismatist who explained the abbreviation *C O N O B*, on the Byzantine coins, by the words *Constantinopolis Officina B (secunda)*, supposing that there were two mints in Constantinople, though no trace of *Officina A* was ever found on the coins. But it is now settled that the letters *O B* are both numerals, meaning in the Greek notation 72, and declaring the number of solidi, on which they occur, coined out of a pound of gold. It was a professional numismatist, Mr. W. S. Appleton, of Boston, who imagined that the Glastonbury token "possibly commemorates the establishment in Newfoundland of some musical society, apparently of Roman Catholic origin." Mr. Appleton asserted positively that the piece "certainly relates to music," and is "certainly not a coin." But Mr. McLachlan has shown, to his own satisfaction, that the Glastonbury "penny" does not relate to music, and was intended to circulate as money. In fact, he expressly and repeatedly calls it a "coin." Mr. Appleton remarked, for example, that "the medal, or token, is probably quite uncommon;" but Mr. McLachlan affirms that "the coin is common." "There is probably," he adds, "hardly any considerable collection of such tokens, which does [not] contain a specimen of this Glastonbury coin."

Mr. McLachlan systematically calls himself a "numismatician." The word is not to be found in any of the "ordinary" dictionaries. Webster, Worcester and Stormonth (the latest English authority) give only "numismatist." If "numismatician" means the same thing, as it doubtless does, here are two professional numismatists contradicting one another on three distinct points. Mr. Appleton declares that the Glastonbury medal is not a coin, but certainly relates to music and is probably quite uncommon; and Mr. McLachlan says it is a coin, has no relation to music and is quite common. What are the unlearned to think of such a spectacle? And what could be more humorous than the demure way in which both gentlemen suddenly face to the front and warn the public that "it is folly for any other than a professional to undertake to write on numismatics," because unskilled people are

liable to fall into errors ! Are they both right then ? or do they claim a monopoly of errors ?

The professional numismatists ought to settle several matters relating to this medal. There is the question whether it is, in fact, a tradesman's token, as Mr. Batty appears to think, or a relic of the Glastonbury Orpheus Society, as the Glastonbury antiquarians believe. Then there is the Greek motto, which nobody has yet explained. Mr. McLachlan might tell us what that means. He does say that the Latin motto, *Spina Sanctus*, is " ungrammatical ; " but that is a mistake. He might as well call Virgil's *jactatus vi superum* ungrammatical. *Sanctus* is not equivalent to *sacra*, as he evidently supposes ; (*locus*) *spina sanctus* means the place " sanctified by the thorn." This slip was hardly to be expected from a gentleman who declares that " the true Numismatician [with a large N] should know, aye and does to a great extent know, the history of civilization, the customs and manners, the literature and art of all nations and ages." Apparently Mr. McLachlan is not the true " numismatician." He has " been told," he says, that Thomas Wyon was the engraver of the medal ; but that is another mistake. The dies were cut by Thomas Wyon's uncle, Peter Wyon, as appears by Sharp's catalogue of Sir George Chetwynd's collection of provincial copper coins, tokens, tickets and medalets.

Mr. McLachlan observes, in closing his valuable paper, that " by no amount of reading, by no amount of deep study, without the constant handling, comparing and arranging of coins themselves, can any man become a professional." What he means is, that one cannot really study coins, unless he has the coins to study ; and that is quite true. But we cannot all be numismatists ; and it is sometimes necessary or convenient for those of us who do not enjoy that privilege, to mention coins in connection with the other and of course inferior matters with which we occupy ourselves. When we do, the professional numismatists should regard with toleration our natural errors, remembering that they themselves are not infallible. It is probable that a greater number of foolish books have been written by numismatists than by any other class of writers in the world ; and the foolish numismatists have been notoriously bad-tempered and uncivil, as is the way of pedants and pretenders in all professions. But there are numismatists and numismatists. The mere collectors and compilers are apt to be narrow-minded and conceited drudges, though they also have their uses. The numismatists who study their coins in a scholarly way, as historical documents, show in all their relations with their fellow men the liberality and courtesy of scholars. May their tribe increase.

H. W. RICHARDSON

PORTLAND, MAINE. February 22, 1886.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

TWO INTERESTING ORIGINAL LETTERS

[From the collection of Ernest L. Merrill, Auburn, Maine.]

(FIRST LETTER.)

William H. Winder to President Monroe.

Baltimore, May 3, 1818

Sir:

I have within a few days past received a communication from the Supreme Director of the United Provinces of South America, in which I am complimented with citizenship of those provinces, & with a request that I would accept the appointment of Deputy or Agent from that Government to the United States. These testimonies of respect from that Government, I understand proceed from representations made of some services which I had inopportune [sic] rendered to some of the citizens of that country, and from information that I entertained sentiments friendly to the success of their struggle for independence. The communication was as unexpected to me, as it had been entirely unsought. I had therefore, never thought upon the subject, and am at a loss to decide what course to pursue on the occasion. I should never consent to accept any situation from any foreign government incompatible with my duties and obligations to my own & the only inducement which could lead me to listen to the proposal now made, would be that I might render mutual services to the two countries in a manner honorable to myself. It is with a view to ascertain how far this is practicable that I have taken the liberty to make this disclosure to you, Sir, and to solicit in return such suggestions as you should deem it proper to make on the subject. If you perceive that I can take any step mutually beneficial to both countries and honorable to myself, I shall be ready to adopt it so far as a just regard to my private duties will permit. I am at this time much occupied in my professional duties in court & could not therefore make a visit to Washington without giving rise to speculations and conjectures inconsistent with my desire that in all my steps in this business I should be certain not to counteract the views and wishes of my government. If you should however be of opinion that a personal conference would be useful or desirable, I will at the earliest possible moment accommodate myself to your suggestions in this respect. Together with the communications to myself, I received the enclosed packet directed to you, by the Supreme Director of the United Provinces. The purport of it, is, I presume to explain his views

in relation to myself & I take the liberty to enclose it to you, the better to enable you to judge on the subject. I am with the highest respect, Sir, your obt. sv.

Wm H. Winder.

The President of the United States.

(SECOND LETTER.)

Edmund P. Gaines to John McLean.

St. Louis, Missouri, September 30th 1841.

Private & }
unofficial }

My dear Sir :

Believing your appointment to the head of the War Department will contribute more than that of any other statesmen to invite the attention of the people to the defence of the country, upon the true principle of combining in the most expensive and indispensible works for our protection in war, the means of commercial prosperity in Peace and War—and thus giving the Army and Militia the high character of an utilitarian Army and Militia, (We should work in peace to prepare for War); and moreover being convinced that you will prove yourself to be the War minister of the United States, and never the war minister of a Party ;—I take much pleasure in assuring you of the high gratification which your appointment has afforded me, and every honest man whose opinion I have learned upon the subject. Desiring your attention to the enclosed papers, I am with affectionate respect your friend

Edmund P. Gaines.

The Hon'ble John McLean.

[NOTE.—General Edmund Pendleton Gaines received a gold medal from Congress for services in the war of 1812. Also served in the Creek and Seminole wars. He was the husband of Myra Clarke Gaines, who, after his death so persistently pressed her rights to a large estate in New Orleans.

E. H. Goss.]

NOTES

THE GOLDEN CIRCLE—In “Uncle Daniel’s Story,” the anonymous work published by A. R. Hart & Co., is a graphic sketch of the formidable secret organization to destroy the Northern cities during our late civil war. Chicago was the main head-quarters, although lodges were formed among the Southern sympathizers in all the principal cities of the West. The following conversation between two of the leaders of the scheme who had met by accident is of more than ordinary interest: “Colonel Walters said that ‘it was thought that it would require about one year to get the organization perfected and in good working order; that they had to work very cautiously, and would have considerable trouble in getting the right kind of arms into their hands. There was no trouble,’ he said, ‘in having them all armed with pistols; for,’ said Walters, ‘these Yankees are so fond of money that you can buy arms anywhere, if on hand. You can get them made at some private arsenals if you could assure them against discovery. The intention, however, is to get all things ready by the time of the next Presidential election, and if we do not whip them by that time we will resort to such methods as will insure the election of one of our friends, or one who believes that we can never be subjugated.’

The General responded to what he said, and remarked that it did seem that if those plans could be carried out that success must certainly follow.

“‘Yes,’ said Walters, ‘we must not and cannot fail. I tell you, when these money-loving Yanks see their towns and cities threatened, prisoners turned loose,

maddened by confinement, and commence applying the torch, you will hear ‘Peace! peace! for God’s sake, give us peace!’ this will be the cry, sir. Mind what I say!’”

THE HARRIS COLLECTION OF AMERICAN POETRY—This magnificent gift of the late Senator Anthony to the library of Brown’s University is in a fair way to have an annotated catalogue of rare excellence. The Rev. Dr. Stockbridge, of Providence, has been for some months engaged in this work. It is intended more especially as a memorial to Senator Anthony. It will, in the introduction, contain a sketch of his life; also extracts from his own poetical productions—as, for instance, a spirited poem which he wrote in his young manhood of a pleasant festive occasion in the city of Savannah, which was graced by his presence. Not many even of the personal friends of Mr. Anthony are aware of the existence of this poem, as but few copies were published at the time. There will be two editions of the catalogue—one in quarto form on fine paper, the other an octavo volume. As an indication of the general interest felt in this catalogue, we are permitted to say that requests have already been sent to the editor for copies to be reserved for the libraries of all the prominent universities and colleges of the country, for those of several of the State Historical Societies, for quite a number of public libraries, for the British Museum and the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa, etc., and to a number of gentlemen, of whom are George William Curtis and George W. Childs.

QUERIES

THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1763—The text of the Treaty establishing the Peace of Paris on February 10, 1763, may be found in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, vol. XXXIII. pp. 121-126. This treaty, by which France ceded all her possessions on the mainland of North America to Great Britain, first made our Independence possible, desirable, certain and speedy. One would suppose it easy to find the words in which this treaty was couched. In fact, thanks to verbosity—1,491 lines in the preliminaries—I know not where to look for them outside the magazine above mentioned. Where else can they be discovered? In what American books can we read them? In what work most easily accessible? Parkman's *Wolfe and Montcalm* (II., p. 405), gives only a brief synopsis. I wish he had added it to his eleven appendixes.

JAMES D. BUTLER
MADISON, WISCONSIN.

WHAT was the first Club in the United States?
ST. BOTOLPH

JANUARY 3, 1886.

DID the "Guards," that is, the Cold-stream, Grenadier, Scots and Royal Horse Guards serve in America during the Revolution?
"HALIFAX"

JANUARY 7, 1886.

EDITOR MAGAZINE AMERICAN HISTORY: I saw, a few days ago, in a *Memoir of General Moreau*, by John Philippart, (Philadelphia, 1816) the following statement: "The Americans repeatedly offered General Moreau the Command of their Armies, and the agents of Bonaparte were continually employed to induce him to the adoption of some step that might deprive him of his well-earned popularity, and they even flattered themselves with inducing him to become the ruler of North America, etc., etc."

Now I would like to know if there is any foundation for the statement given above that the "Americans repeatedly offered Moreau the command of their armies. He was with us until the June of 1813, and certainly up to that time the war, commenced the year before, had gone steadily against us. And I firmly believe he would have been a great improvement upon the Hulls, Winchesters, Wilkinsons, Dearborns, Winders and Hamptons, we were then sorely afflicted with. Can any of the readers of the Magazine give us some information on the subject? It is certainly a curious statement to appear in a work published in this country, and appears thus far to have passed uncontradicted.

DAVID FITZ GERALD
WAR DEPARTMENT LIBRARY,
February 10, 1886.

REPLIES

THE PRINCE DE BROGLIE [i. 180, ii. 533, iii. 453.]—In the first volume of this Magazine there appeared the translation of a narrative of a visit to this country in 1782 written by the *Prince de Broglie*, with a preliminary note on the

family of the writer (vol. I., p. 180), written by my father, Mr. Thomas Balch. In the July number for 1879, there is a communication signed Charles Henry Hart (vol. III., p. 453) which has only come recently to my notice, or it cer-

tainly would have sooner been answered. It is said that my father made two errors: first, in giving the title of *Prince* to Claude Victor de Broglie; secondly, in stating that "the second Duc de Broglie died at Münster in 1804—" and quoting as authority the "King's Secret," by the present Duc de Broglie (vol. II., p. 533) "He was still living in 1804 when the First Consul, re-establishing the dignity of Marshal of France, offered to re-open his country to him and to restore his military honors. He refused, and died in a strange land." Not having a copy of the *Almanach de Gotha* for the year 1858, in which is an historical notice of the family, I wrote to the Duc de Broglie telling him about these statements and asked him if he would tell me when his ancestor received the title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and if the second Duc de Broglie did die in 1804. In his reply to me he says :

"Les renseignements donnés par Monsieur votre Père au sujet de ma famille, sont absolument conformes à la vérité. Le titre de Prince du Saint Empire Romain avait été donnée par l'Impératrice Marie Thérèse au Maréchal de Broglie en 1759, pour être porté par lui et par tous ses descendants mâles. C'est en vertu de cette nomination que mon grand-père, Claude Victor de Broglie, portait ce titre, que je l'ai porté moi-même et que tous mes fils le prennent aujourd'hui.

Le Maréchal de Broglie est bien mort en 1804, très-peu de jours après le refus qu'il avait fait de rentrer en France, sur la proposition du premier Consul.

Il n'y a donc aucune modification à faire aux faits affirmés par Monsieur votre Père, et toute critique à cet égard est dépourvue de fondement.

ELISE WILLING BALCH
PHILADELPHIA, March 1, 1886.

[Translation of the above letter of the Duc de Broglie, in response to a request from one of our readers:

"The facts stated by your father in regard to my family, are in *absolute conformity with the truth*.

The title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire was given by the Empress Marie Theresa to the Maréchal de Broglie in 1759, to be worn by him and by *all his male descendants*. It is by virtue of this grant that my grandfather, Claude Victor de Broglie, carried this title, and that I have borne it myself, and that all my sons take it to-day.

The Maréchal de Broglie did die in 1804, but a few days after his refusal to return to France, at the proposition of the First Consul.

There is therefore no modification to be made of the facts stated by your father, and all criticism on this subject is entirely without foundation."—EDITOR.]

FROM BURNSIDE TO HOOKER [XV. 150]
—Editor *Magazine of American History*: Permit me to call your attention to an article in your valuable Magazine of January last, with the above title, in which the statement is made that General Sumner was relieved from duty "at his own request," and "without having made such a request or said anything that could be so misconstrued," apparently because he was older than and su-

erior in rank to General Hooker, was ordered to his home at Syracuse, New York. General Sumner was relieved from duty "at his own request," and was assigned to the command of the Department of the Missouri, an independent command of great importance. On his way to the West he stopped at his home at Syracuse, New York, and died there after an illness of only a few days. General Sumner was selected by the President for this new command because he was regarded by the administration as one of the most reliable and distinguished general officers in the army, and had he reached his command would have verified the confidence placed in him. I was with the General, and think his desire to reach the West, and the exposure he endured at that time brought on his fatal illness. The service lost one of its most gallant and accomplished officers.

LAWRENCE KIP,

Late A. D. C. to Major-General Sumner.

The following general orders from the War Department tell their own story.

Colonel L. Kip,

45² 5th Avenue,
New York City.

Sir :

In compliance with your request of the 15th instant, I am instructed by the Adjutant General to transmit here-with extract copies, General Orders No. 20, of Jany. 25, 1863, from this Office, relieving Major-General E. V. Sumner from duty in the Army of the Potomac, and General Orders No. 57 of March 9, 1863, from this Office, assigning him

to the command of the Department of the Missouri. Very respectfully,

Your obedient Servant,

Wm. I. Volkmar,

Assistant Adjutant General.

Washington, February 18, 1886.

War Department,

Adjutant General's Office,

Washington, January 25, 1863.

General Orders, { Extract.
No. 20.

I. . . . The President of the United States has directed :

* * * * *

Second. That Major-General E. V. Sumner, at his own request, be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac.

* * * * *

II. . . . The officers relieved as above will report, in person, to the Adjutant General of the Army.

By order of the Secretary of War :

E. D. Townsend,

Assistant Adjutant General.

War Department,

Adjutant General's Office,

Washington, March 9, 1863.

General Orders, { Extract.
No. 57.

* * * * *

II. . . . Major-General Edwin V. Sumner, U. S. Volunteers, is assigned to the command of the Department of the Missouri.

By Order of the Secretary of War:

L. Thomas,

Adjutant General.

Official

A. G. Office, }
Feb. 18, 1886. }

Wm. I. Volkmar,

Assistant Adjutant General.

SOCIETIES

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular monthly meeting on the evening of February 22, and listened to an interesting paper by Dr. J. V. Haberer, on local botany. Prior to the introduction of the orator of the evening, Secretary Bagg read the minutes of the last regular meeting and of the special meeting on the 15th instant, in regard to the death of Horatio Seymour, President of the Society. Corresponding Secretary Darling read a list of the donations to the Society received during the past month. Among the gifts was a scrap-book from Hon. C. W. Hutchinson containing a complete record of the affairs and transactions of the Society since its organization; also a United States cent dated 1803. The usual vote of thanks was tendered the donors.

Dr. Hartley, from the Special Committee appointed to arrange the relics and curiosities of the Society in new cases, reported that the cases had been procured but the work was not entirely complete. He said by the new arrangement the Society would have much more room than before. He said it had been suggested that further improvements could be made, but the committee had not received authority and could not go on unless they secured it. Some discussion on the subject followed and the matter was finally tabled till after the address, the hour for hearing which had arrived.

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY held its twenty-eighth annual meeting at the Society's rooms, Wilkesbarre, February 11. The fol-

lowing officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Hon. E. L. Dana; Vice-Presidents, Dr. C. F. Ingham, Rev. H. L. Jones, Captain Calvin Parsons, Hon. Eckley B. Coxe; Recording Secretary, J. Ridgway Wright; Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, Sheldon Reynolds; Assistant Librarian, G. Mortimer Lewis; Treasurer, A. H. McClintock; Curators, C. F. Ingham, Curator of Conchology and Mineralogy; S. Reynolds, Curator of Archaeology; H. E. Hayden, Curator of Numismatics; R. D. Lacoë, Curator of Palæontology. Meteorologist, E. L. Dana; Historiographer, Geo. B. Kulp.

Many donations were acknowledged. Twenty active members were elected. The librarian reported an addition to the library for 1885 of 497 bound volumes, and 40 pamphlets, etc. The Curator of Conchology reported that the collection contains 121 genera and 695 specie. The other curators reported valuable additions to their various departments.

The historiographer read biographical sketches of five members who died during 1885, *i. e.*, Harrison Wright, Ph.D., late secretary of the Society; Prof. J. L. Richardson, Frank Turner, Hon. Thomas Broderick and Dr. William Worthington. Wm. P. Ryman, Esq., read the second part of his "Historical Sketch of Dallas Township." After an address by the president, the Society adjourned.

THE WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting of this Society was held on Wednesday evening, Feb-

ruary 10, when the following officers were elected: President, John J. Loud; Vice-President, Herbert A. Newton; Secretary, Gilbert Nash; Treasurer, Charles T. Crane; Librarian, Miss Carrie A. Blanchard; Executive Committee, the before-named officers, *ex officio*, and Elias Richards; Committee on Nominations, John J. Loud, Samuel W. Reed, Thomas F. Cleverly; Library Committee, S. N. Reed, W. H. Clapp, Miss Louise Richards; Committee on Order of Business, J. J. Loud, B. F. Eaton, Gilbert Nash.

The reports of the officers show that the Society has just closed one of its most successful years of service, both in amount and quality of work done. The treasurer reports a balance on hand of \$102.36, with all bills paid. The library committee report donations of 53 volumes, 34 pamphlets, besides papers and documents. Several additions have also been made to the cabinet.

At the beginning of the year, a "Sketch of the History of Weymouth" was published by the town historical committee, under the auspices of this Society, and compiled by its secretary, which, while it does not fully answer the demand for a complete history of this ancient place, the second English settlement in the State, fills a very important niche in the local history of the country. The further service of the Society promises well to furnish material to complete the work thus happily inaugurated. This sketch has called forth the universal approval of historical scholars who have examined it, in various parts of the country.

CETY held its regular meeting on the evening of February 23, and the cabinet of the organization was entirely filled, an unusual number of the audience being ladies. At eight o'clock Dr. Parsons, who occupied the chair for the evening, arose and introduced the lecturer, Professor Mathews, of Boston. For an hour and a half he described the battle of Waterloo, with the closest attention to details, and to presenting a map-like picture of its scenes. The language and thought was strong and lifelike throughout, the knowledge of the speaker being based upon a visit to the scene of the battle itself and examination of history in the best literature of Europe. He opened the subject by dwelling upon the remarkable importance of this great duel of nations, the position in the world of the leaders, Napoleon and Wellington, and the complete victory of the allied army. The French nation was a proud and grand reality one day, and the next but a name—a recollection. How could this happen to such a hero as Napoleon? The campaign was well planned, the troops under Napoleon the most tried and spirited in the world, but the French were inferior in numbers. The five distinct attacks of Napoleon's troops, up to the time when the Old Guard made its advance, were drawn clearly and fully to the minds of the audience. The conclusions arrived at concerning Napoleon's defeat made that defeat entirely due to plain blunders, the main of which have been mentioned. From this series of blunders, unparalleled in his entire career, and which another man would have ridiculed, Napoleon could not recover.

BOOK NOTICES

THE STORY OF CHALDEA. From the earliest Times to the Rise of Assyria. [The Story of the Nations.] By ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN. 12mo, pp. 381. New York and London. 1886. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The enterprising publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons, have projected a series of historic studies for the young, under the general title of "The Story of the Nations," which, if we may judge from the volume just issued, will prove a most acceptable contribution to the literature of ancient history. It is proposed that the writers of the different volumes shall enter into the real life of the peoples, and bring them before the reader as they actually lived, labored and struggled—as they studied and wrote, and as they amused themselves—and that the series shall present the results of the latest investigations in the progressive department of historical research.

The "Story of Chaldea" is treated as a general introduction to the study of ancient history. It begins with the destruction of Nineveh, about the year before Christ 606. It tells us of Xenophon, the noble Athenian, whose fame as a scholar and writer equals his renown as a great general, and of his entertaining book, "The Retreat of the Ten Thousand." Two hundred years only had elapsed since the destruction of Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian empire, and yet when Xenophon discovered its ruins, and marveled over its great wall, twenty-five feet wide and more than a hundred feet high, he did not know even its name, "so effectually had the haughty city been swept from the face of the earth." The work is interesting from the very first page, and the reader is carried along as if by some magical power born of that remote age. Of Mesopotamia, the author says: "More than one and twenty centuries have rolled over the immense valley so well named Mesopotamia, 'the Land between the Rivers,' and each brought to it more changes, more wars, more disasters, with rare intervals of rest and prosperity. Its position between the East and the West, on the very high road of marching armies and wandering tribes, has always made it one of the great battle grounds of the world. About one thousand years after Alexander's rapid invasion and short-lived conquest, the Arabs overran the country, and settled there, bringing with them a new civilization and the new religion given them by their prophet Mohammed, which they thought it their mission to carry, by force of word and sword, to the bounds of the earth. They even founded there one of the principal seats of their sovereignty, and Baghdad yielded not greatly in magnificence and power to Babylon of old." One of the instructive features of the book is the pen and pencil illustrations of

the modern processes of excavations in this region, together with the description in clear, terse language of the wonderful discoveries effected. The kings of Chaldea, Babylonia, and Assyria seem to have been absolutely possessed with a mania for building. Scarcely one of them but left inscriptions telling how he raised this or that palace, this or that temple, in one or another city, often in many cities. The "Library of Nineveh" is a chapter that will interest readers of all ages. The "Story of Chaldea" in itself covers eight chapters, and touches upon all its picturesque and noteworthy periods. In closing, the author says: "Until within a very few years, Egypt gloried in the undisputed boast of being the oldest country in the world, *i. e.*, of reaching back, by its annals and monuments, to an earlier date than any other. But the discoveries that are continually being made in the valley of the two great rivers have forever silenced that boast. Chaldea points to a monetarily record date nearly 4000 B.C. This is more than Egypt can do."

THE HISTORY OF ROCKLAND COUNTY.

By FRANK BERTANGUE GREEN, M.D. Royal 8vo, pp. 444. 1886. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

The account of the beginnings and development of the now prosperous region of country covered by this volume is one of peculiar interest. The early purchasers of real estate in Rockland County were speculators who entertained no thought of personal settlement. As soon as practicable they resold the land, and the new buyer resold, till the era of speculation ceased and permanent settlers arrived. The author says: "The first vehicles which passed through this trackless wilderness bearing the settler's goods were driven through any opening that appeared in the direction toward which the immigrant was trending. The little travel which that immigrant had to perform, for the first few years after locating, was made on horseback or on foot. As the settlements grew more numerous and stronger, and as the land was cultivated further and further from the navigable waters and nearest hamlets, the demands of social or business life called for better paths. Passageways from settlements to the nearest church, to the nearest mill, to the most convenient outlets on the river, were made by each body of settlers for their own use. Sometimes a deer path through the woods became the line of a new road; sometimes the trail which the Indian had made from his village to that of his neighbors in days gone by; and not infrequently those domestic animals—the cows—laid out a future

highway by their daily journeys to and from the nearest good pasturing place."

Three chapters of the work are devoted to the stirring events of the Revolution; and one chapter to the condition of Rockland County at the close of the war, together with the energy of its inhabitants in trying to re-establish business. The early industries of the county furnish some interesting pages. The history of the various churches occupy two chapters. The period of the civil war, and the part taken in it by the people of this county, is elaborately presented. The closing chapters of the volume are devoted to the history of some of the principal towns. It is a creditable work throughout, bearing the evidence of painstaking research, and critical care in the arrangement of details.

AN IRON CROWN. A Tale of the Great Republic. 16mo, pp. 560. Chicago. T. S. Denison & Co.

A casual glance at the cover device borne by this volume does not reveal its ominous significance, but a closer examination, after the reader has grasped the aim of the book, brings out the details. Apparently it is a Crown such as monarchs are supposed to wear on state occasions, but inspection shows that it is composed of railroad iron, with appropriate accessories of spikes, ties, and the like. That such a crown is figuratively worn by the Great Republic is of course known to everybody, and most people are rather proud than otherwise of the magnificent enterprise and energy that has covered the continent with a net-work of rails. To such persons a perusal of this highly entertaining and powerfully written book is earnestly commended, for few of them realize the wholesale robberies that have been committed in the name of Enterprise. The scene opens in New York, and introduces a number of prominent capitalists, under fictitious names of course, and tells, under the guise of an entertaining story, how they systematically plunder right and left, not only individual pockets, but the public treasures of state and nation. The reader of light literature need not be appalled at this array of weighty matter, for there is love and courtship, and beauty and villainy enough of the type usually found in the novel of the period. Moreover, there is what the play-bills call an "*incidental divertissement*" in the shape of a Western mining episode which is altogether charming in local color, and really reads as though the author knows what he is talking about.

We need not attempt to identify the characters introduced by giving them their real names, for these, or most of them, appear in an appendix as well as in a certain chapter of the text.

It is significant that the dangers which threaten the future of the Republic are beginning to be

ably treated in fiction. This is the third distinctly clever and noteworthy book that has appeared within a comparatively short time, having a similar motive. We refer to "On a Margin," and "The Money Makers," both of which, as well as "An Iron Crown," were published anonymously. Their authorship, however, with the exception of the last, is well known to all who care to know, and he of the "Iron Crown" cannot, in all probability, long hide his identity. That the authors of such books should hesitate to let their names appear known is excusable when one realizes the machinery that is brought to bear by the monopolist to crush individuals who dare oppose them. It is to the credit of the literary guild that only one of their number deliberately advocates modern American methods of acquiring wealth, and publicly bows down before the thrones of the Railway Kings.

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF AMERICA. Edited by JUSTIN WINSOR. Illustrated. Vol. II. Royal 8vo, pp. 640. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

This notable work, of which the second volume is the first issued, is to include, when completed, eight royal octavo volumes. Its editor is one of the most accomplished scholars of the age, and its various contributors are from among the historical writers of deserved eminence in different parts of the country, chosen by the editor solely with reference to special fitness for the subjects of which they treat. The method embraces a series of historical narratives, each narrative serving as the text for a critical essay following it. The essay is to be the distinctive feature of the plan, describing the original sources of the preceding narrative—manuscripts, monuments, archaeological remains—with accounts of their discovery, their transmission to later times, their vicissitudes, also the libraries, museums, etc., where they are preserved, the character of those who discovered and utilized them for historical results, and the writers who have become authorities on the several subjects, together with the societies formed for furthering these studies. These essays cannot fail to constitute the most important portions of the great work, as students will find the materials in them for almost any line of historical investigation. It would be difficult to estimate the practical worth of such a mine of exact learning.

The volume before us opens with a chapter on "Columbus and his Discoveries," by the editor, quaintly illustrated with reproductions of old cuts, such as the ship of Columbus's time, fruit trees of Hispaniola, etc. The narrative occupies twenty-three pages, and the critical essay on the sources of information with notes following, some sixty-nine pages. The editor adds

thirty-six further pages on the earliest maps of the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, reproducing many of the maps. The second chapter treats of "Amerigo Vespucci," and the author is Sidney Howard Gay. The critical essay following is by the editor, and is, as in the first instance, very much longer than the narrative itself. The third chapter, "The Companions of Columbus," is from the pen of Edward Channing, Ph.D., instructor of history in Harvard College. "Ancient Florida," the fourth chapter, is by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. "Las Casas, and the relations of the Spaniards to the Indians," the fifth chapter is by the learned Dr. George E. Ellis, of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The sixth chapter, "Cortéz and his Companions," is by the editor, to which, in addition to a critical essay of exceptional interest, is added an able and exhaustive study of the "Discoveries on the Pacific Coast of North America," covering forty-two pages. The seventh chapter, "Early Explorations of New Mexico," is by Henry W. Haynes, and although short, is extremely informing. The eighth chapter, entitled "Pizarro, and the Conquest and Settlement of Peru and Chili," with its critical essay, constitutes one of the most attractive features of the volume. The portraits of Pizarro, of Gasca, of García Hurtado de Mendoza, and others, add largely to the interest of the narrative; and the city of Cusco, from an old print, the building of a town, and the antique maps, are all illustrations of more importance than appears at the first glance. "The Amazon and Eldorado," by the editor, follows the critical essay and editorial notes. The ninth and closing chapter is by Rev. Edward E. Hale, D.D. Its subject is "Magellan's Discovery." Several rare portraits of the great navigator are reproduced. It is gratifying to observe that all purely decorative and fancy pictures have been excluded from the work. Only those of antiquarian importance are inserted.

Some idea of the magnitude of Mr. Winsor's undertaking will be gathered from our brief summary of the contents of the second volume. His genius, energy, and industry cannot be too highly commended. The work is a monument of research and scholarship, and will command generous appreciation. The co-operative method certainly has its advantages. But a production of this character will serve to stimulate rather than appall the individual historian. It will give him a better opportunity, with but a fraction of the labor, to grasp with a master hand the great whole, and with a clear perception of the relative importance of events, weave into a graphic and truthful picture the salient facts so carefully collected by the various specialists. It is intended that each volume shall be a complete monograph in itself, while the succession of volumes will constitute one homogeneous work. Thus the order in which they may be read and

studied is quite immaterial. Elaborate indexes form a part of each volume, and a general index will, in the end, include them all.

THE FIGHT FOR MISSOURI. From the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon.
By THOMAS L. SNEAD. With Maps. 12mo, pp. 322. 1866. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons.

The author of this work took an active part in the elections of 1860, supporting Breckinridge for President, and later on, through the columns of the *St. Louis Bulletin*, earnestly advocated the secession of Missouri. He was the aide-de-camp of Governor Jackson in the troublous times that followed, was with him at Booneville and Carthage, and accompanied him to Cow-skin Prairies, in the south-western corner of the State. When the command of the State forces was transferred to General Price, Mr. Snead was made chief of ordnance and was acting adjutant-general of the State Guard at the battles of Wilson Creek, Fort Scott, and Lexington. He served in these and various other capacities until 1864, when he was sent to the Confederate Congress, and did not return to the army.

The events recorded in this volume occurred between November, 1860, and the 10th of August, 1861. The writer had personal knowledge of the facts, and has presented them concisely and in an engaging style.

It was a stirring period in the history of Missouri. When the question of secession was agitating all minds, a commissioner from Mississippi was sent to ask the co-operation of Missouri in the adoption of "measures for the common defense and safety of the slave-holding States," which added fuel to the flames already raging. The governor notified the legislature that this commissioner, Mr. Russell, would be pleased to confer with that body as to the objects of his mission. A committee at once waited upon him, and an invitation was extended for that very evening. The author says :

"At the appointed hour the Senate, preceded by its officers, entered the hall of the House of Representatives, and took the seats which had been assigned to them. And then the governor and other chief officers of the State, and the judges of the Supreme Court were announced, and took their seats within the bar.

And now a little scene was enacted which, trifling in itself, illustrates the temper of the time and the then disposition of the legislature and the people. The committee being about to bring in the commissioner, the president of the joint convention, Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds, said, 'When the commissioner from the State of Mississippi is announced, the members of the General Assembly will rise to receive him.' John D. Stevenson, a Republican repre-

sentative from St. Louis, sprang to his feet, saying: 'Are we here, Mr. President, to do homage to the ambassador of some foreign potentate?' The President said: 'I understand, sir, that this is a joint session of the General Assembly, to listen to an address from the Commissioner of the State of Mississippi, and I hope, for the honor of all parties, that the member from St. Louis will take his seat.' Stevenson: 'Shall I have a chance?' President: 'Take your seat.' A voice: 'Good!' Stevenson: 'I desire to have a chance.' President: 'Take your seat.' A voice: 'Better!' Stevenson: 'Mr. President, I can read, sir, the rules that govern this body, and I suppose, if I am well informed, that when the President rules me out of order, it is his duty to state why he so rules.' President: 'The business of this session is to hear a speech from the commissioner from Mississippi, and all other business is out of order.' Stevenson: 'I understand that the President commands the members to rise.' President: 'I will change it to a request, and I hope that no member of the General Assembly will have the indecency to refuse to rise.' Stevenson: 'O! that will do, sir.' The commissioner was therefore introduced, the members rising from their seats to receive him."

Mr. Snead pictures the attitude of both parties as the days and weeks flew swiftly forward, and shows how Governor Jackson never wavered in his determination to place Missouri on the side of the South in the impending war. Among the most interesting pages in the book are those devoted to an account of the interview in St. Louis of Governor Jackson and General Price with Blair and Lyon, for the purpose of effecting the basis of a new agreement for maintaining the peace of Missouri just before the final outbreak, on which occasion the author was present. The volume is one of importance, and a most valuable contribution to the literature of the late Civil War.

OUTLINES OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Designed as a Text-Book; and for private reading. With 32 maps. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., L.L.D., Professor in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 674. New York and Chicago, 1885. Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor and Company.

No more remarkable work has ever been issued by the American press than this of Professor Fisher. It is remarkable from many points of view. Written as a text-book of universal history for colleges and the higher schools, and touching authoritatively upon the progress of man with what he has done and suffered from the earliest records of his existence to the present hour, it is with surprise that we find it so felic-

itous in style and unity of design as to prove most delightful private reading. The author's breadths of treatment, and just sense of proportion in reference to the space allotted to epochs and themes, is scarcely less a marvel than his exceptional skill in condensation. He tells the wonderful story, covering so much ground and so many centuries, with the essential facts woven into the skein—so harmoniously, indeed, that the reader easily traces through the entire work the connection of events with one another. The facts, singularly enough, are not crowded; but ample room has been found to introduce with them sketches of the history of science, literature, art, and of moral and material decline or improvement. The great authors, artists, philosophers, and pioneers in discovery and invention are mentioned by name, and their specific character and achievements concisely stated. The wealth of information contained in the work cannot be over-estimated. It is, in our opinion, the most valuable book of its character in the English language, and both author and publishers are to be congratulated upon its production, and presentation to the young American public.

"More and more," says Professor Fisher, "history interests itself in the character of society at large, and in phases, through which it has passed. How men lived from day to day, what their occupations were, their comforts and discomforts, their ideas, sentiments, and modes of intercourse; their state as regards art, letters, invention, religious enlightenment—these are points on which history, as at present studied and written, undertakes to shed light." Concerning the philosophy of history the author pertinently says: "Events do not spring into being, disjoined from antecedents leading to them. Even turning-points in history, which seem, at the first glance, abrupt, are found to be dependent on previous conditions. They are the natural issue of the times that have gone before. Preceding events have foreshadowed them. There are laws of historical progress which have their root in the characteristics of human nature. Ends are wrought out, which bear on the evident marks of design. Nor is progress continuous and unbroken. It is often, as one has said, a spiral rather than a straight line. It is not an unceasing advance; there are backward movements, or what appear to be such." Concerning personal power we find some eloquent passages. "Nations have their pilots in war and in peace. The progress of society has been inseparably connected with the agency of eminent persons. Signal changes, whether wholesale or mischievous, are linked to the names of individuals who have specially contributed to bring them to pass. Fruitful inventions, after the earlier steps in civilization are taken, are traceable to particular authors, exalted by their genius above the common level. So it is with literary works

which have exerted the deepest and most lasting influence. Reforms and revolutions, which alter the direction of the historic stream, emanate from individuals in whose minds they are conceived, and by whose energy they are affected. Without the original thought and personal energy of leaders, momentous changes in the life of nations could never have taken place." With such introductory lessons the reader is prepared for a closer study of the true meaning of history, as he turns each successive leaf.

One important feature of Dr. Fisher's work is its illustrative maps, of which there are thirty-two, admirably executed. These serve to show the consecutive changes of empires, kingdoms, and republics. Colors are used to indicate geographical divisions, and all the names of places are perfectly legible. The first map in the volume represents "the World as known to the ancients," the last, "Asia at the present time." The twenty-sixth map in the series illustrates the "Territorial growth of the United States." The summary of modern events is in keeping with the general character of the whole work, well-proportioned, luminous, and impartial. An occasional error creeps in, born of brevity, undoubtedly, as, for instance, we are told on page 236 that the seat of government (of the United States) was at first at *Philadelphia*, but in 1800 it was removed to the *District of Columbia*." This should not be allowed to sink into the mind of the young student. The seat of government of this great Republic was first at *New York City*, here our first President was inaugurated, and here the principles upon which alone the government could live were determined, and the initiatory questions of interpretation settled. Carefully prepared lists of books in connection with the several eras are inserted for the guidance of the teacher and the learner, which will afford material aid in the prosecution of further studies. The work is also provided with an excellent index.

JOHN CABOT'S LANDFALL IN 1497, and the SITE OF NORUMBEGA. A letter to Chief-Justice Daly. By EBEN NORTON HORSFORD THE INDIAN NAMES OF BOSTON; and their meaning. By Eben Norton Horsford. Square folio, pamphlets, pp. 42 and 26. Cambridge. John Wilson and Son. 1886.

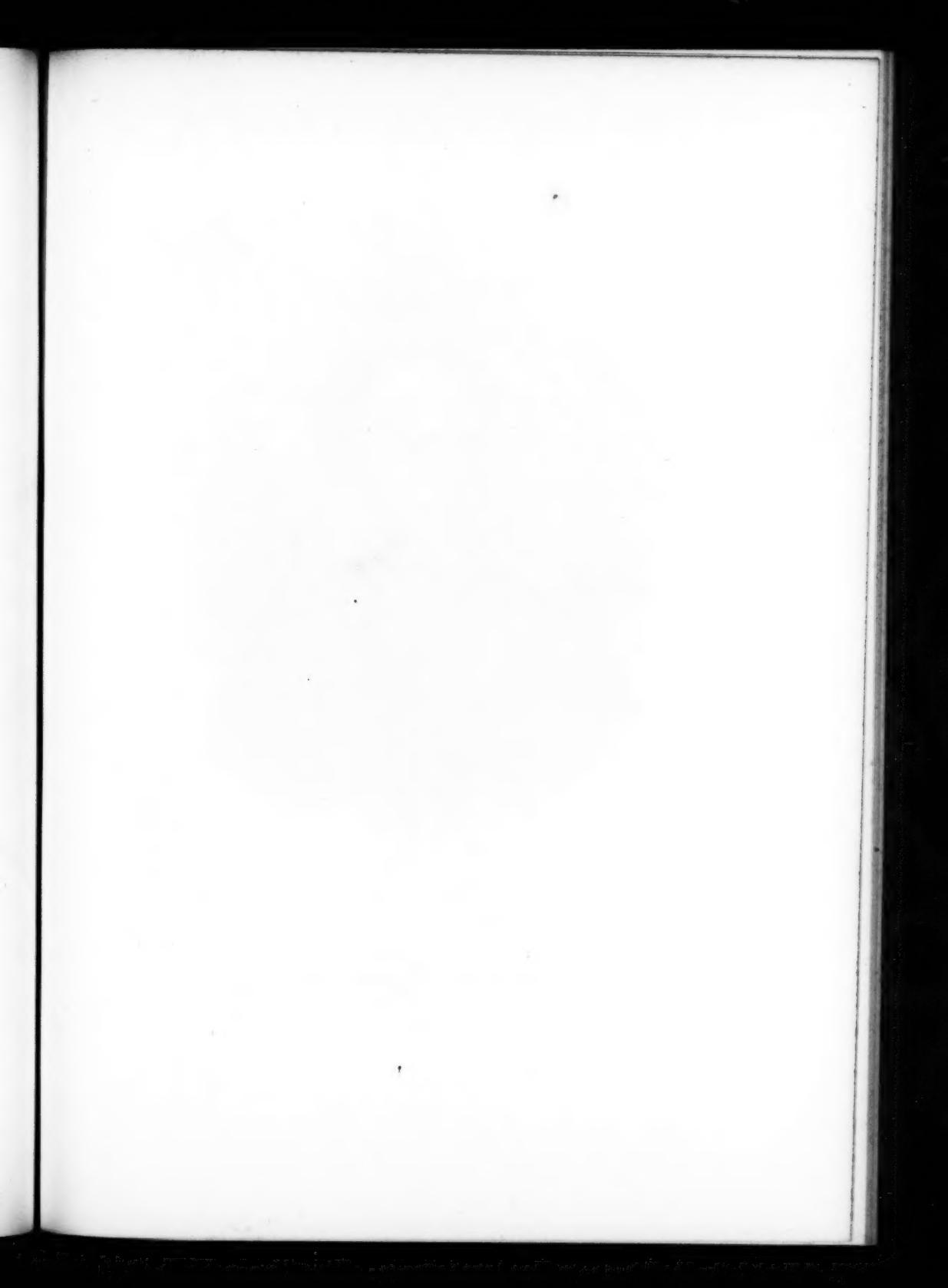
The geographical studies of the eminent scholar, Professor Horsford, in relation to "John Cabot's Landfall in 1497," are of the first interest and significance. His elaborate arguments seem

to us unanswerable. His conclusions are that John Cabot preceded Columbus in the discovery of the continent of America, 1497 being the year of his first voyage to our shores: "that the site of the Landfall of John Cabot in 1497 has been determined to be Salem Neck, in 42° 31' north latitude, the Norum (the Neck to one standing on it) of the Norumbega of Cabot, and the Nahum of the Nahumbek of Ogilby and Smith. The first land seen may have been Cape Ann, or possibly the mountain, Agamenticus; and that the town of Norumbegue, on the river of Norumbegue of Allefonse, the Norumbega visited by Ingram, and the fort of Norumbegue and the village of Agony of Thevet were on the Charles River between Riverside and Waltham, at the mouth of Stony Brook, in latitude 42° 21' north"—in Middlesex County, Massachusetts.

The "Indian names of Boston and their meaning," by the same illustrious author, embodies the fruit of a vast amount of painstaking research, and in its completeness may appropriately be called a monument of antiquarian lore. This paper was read before the New England Historic, Genealogical Society in November last, and was subsequently published in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. The monographs are both illustrated with rare and interesting maps, and elegantly printed in large, clear type, on fine paper with broad margins.

THE MEXICAN GUIDE. By THOMAS A. JANVIER. With two maps. I.—The City of Mexico. II.—Environs of the City of Mexico. 16mo, pp. 310. 1886. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The theory upon which this guide-book was constructed, we are told by the author, was that "what can be easily found and plainly seen need not be laboriously described." In Mexico the traveler first desires to know what to look for and where to look for it, and then seeks to learn the historic facts and associations connected with what he sees. The book seems admirably equipped to meet these inquiries in a satisfactory manner, and its hints to travelers, its tables of Mexican and United States moneys, weights and measures, its descriptions of railways, steamship lines, hotels, restaurants, lodgings, baggage express, etc., are of the first interest to tourists; and its historical reading will occupy many a weary hour when one's destination has been reached. The book is well printed in clear type of convenient size, and deserves the heartiest commendation.





Horatio Seymour

HON. HORATIO SEYMOUR

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HORATIO SEYMOUR

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THE rapidity with which death has during the last few months removed some of the more distinguished of our countrymen is quite phenomenal. Its invasions have been more especially among those who in military and civic service have contributed largely to the integrity and perpetuity of the Union. The loss of such men as Grant, Hendricks, McClellan, Hancock, and Seymour, is indeed a national bereavement. The career of the last named of the illustrious group, which forms the subject of this brief sketch, is an interesting study.

Horatio Seymour was naturally a leader of men. There was that about him which impressed them with his sagacity and sincerity. His active public life covered a period of about thirty-five years. He was too much of a statesman to be a politician, and too thoughtful to be either selfish or imperious. His greatest solicitude was to serve the Republic, and give her that influence among the nations her institutions justly merited. What he was as an orator he was by nature. His thoughts were always clothed in the simplest language, and the evidence that he had weighed his sentences made his discourses invariably pleasant and instructive. He spoke with gracefulness and deliberation, never resorting to the tricks of persuasion, nor suffering himself to be hampered by a manuscript. At times the majesty and magnetism of his presence were all conquering. Erect, with his right hand thrust between the front buttons of his coat, was his favorite attitude. His reading was varied; during the last twenty years he made himself familiar especially with agriculture and the science and practice of farming.

Devotedly attached to nature, he loved her fields and her forests, and wandered among her beauties thoughtfully and reverently. He had a passion for flowers, and, as he nursed them, always gave ear to their inexpressible speech; in a word, their multiple colors and fragrance wooed him. His beautiful and retired home on his farm in Deerfield will possess in the future the same class of memories as linger about the historic